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STATE FUNERALS OF THE HAN EMPIRE

by

Michael Loewe

Texts, long revered in the Chinese tradition, refer to the ways of burial of the highest in the land in Han times; and they include technical terms that, seen rarely, have puzzled commentators and elicited diverse explanations. The sites and artifacts brought to light and examined by archaeologists over the last few decades provide a wealth of information that may match or confirm, correct or elucidate what is provided in the texts. In many ways it remains open to question how far the theory and the ideal of China's historians and scholars corresponded with the practical arrangements undertaken by the officials and the completed work left behind by artists, craftsmen and the multitude of *corvée* labourers who constructed the tombs.

On occasion, and somewhat exceptionally, a valedictory rescript left instructions for the manner in which the burial of a Han emperor was to be conducted. In theory carefully enunciated rules laid down the steps to be taken at an emperor's death, with the parts to be taken by senior officials and the chief mourners at eleven set stages of the procedure. These comprised the preparation of the corpse; the minor encoffining; the major encoffining; the presentation of homage and offerings; the accession of the new emperor; reading of the valedictory rescript; conveyance to the tomb; lowering of the coffin; submission of funerary furnishings; presentation of the new emperor's gifts; and replacement of the soil.¹

In theory again preparation for an emperor's funeral started in the year following his accession, with the choice of the site chosen for his tomb and initiation of the building. Possibly after the reign of Yuandi (48–33 BC), but by no means regularly, the choice was determined according to a system known as *Zhaomu* 昭穆. Associated with Zhou times this was intended to preserve the degrees of ancestry in precise fashion, allowing for the succession of generations and consequent changes in the requisite ritual. It provided for the maintenance of sacrifices and the respects to a deceased emperor's tablet which was eventually placed in the shrine dedicated to the founder of the dynasty. A complex set of buildings would be set up at the chosen

¹ Loewe, 'The imperial way of death', 103–9.

site, including not only the tomb, but also the shrine (*miao* 廟), where the ancestral tablet (*zhu* 主) would be held for veneration, the chamber of rest (*qin* 寢), where the late emperor's robes were preserved, and the chamber of ease (*biandian* 便殿), all set within a large park. According to one commentator the *miao* symbolized the court room, and the *qin* the sleeping chamber. In time specially appointed officials would ensure that all these buildings were kept in good order and they would administer the immigrant families who had been ordered to take up their abode there.²

The evidence which is considered below prompts the suggestion that should the imperial tombs of Wudi and later emperors be subject to investigation, and provided that expert robbers had not preceded them, excavators would find a body accompanied by jewellery, prepared with the ritual feeding and mouth-filling, dressed in a large number of robes and encased in a jade-suit whose pieces had been sewn together with gold thread. Lying inside a number, perhaps seven, coffins of stout timber, this had been placed in an inner chamber that simulated the room in which the emperor had slept during his lifetime; facing this there was another chamber, possibly made of choice wood, which simulated the hall in which he had given audience and held banquets. A massive wall, four square, surrounded these inner parts of the tomb, carefully constructed of large timbers or stone to form a barrier. Some of the consumable supplies deemed necessary had been stowed in their ceramic containers in an outer corridor. Charcoal and clay had been used as a protection against damp, perhaps below the floor boarding, perhaps as a final sealing over the vault, below the tumulus that had been raised above and could sometimes be sufficiently high to form a landmark.

This study draws largely on information that concerns three men whose lives were in no way connected. Accidentally, and indeed fortunately, it is possible to co-ordinate what is known about the funerals of each one of them to reach an idea of the principal ways in which the burial of emperors and some of the highest figures of the land were arranged during the Han Dynasty.

For Huo Guang 霍光 we possess a long biographical account of a successful official's career with detailed orders for his funeral, but we have no information that comes from his grave. Liu Jian 劉建 (8)³ is known to us little more than casually from the histories, but his tomb at Dabaotai 大葆台 reveals a wealth of detail much of which corresponds with that mentioned for Huo Guang (see B 21, F 15 below). For Liu Yan 劉焉 the histories include a short account of the grandeur of his funeral arrangements and this may be compared with the design and contents of his tomb at Beizhuang 北莊, where again the same features are to be seen (see B 32 and page 43 below). Other literary references, together with the remarks of the commentators and the archaeological evidence from a large number of tombs, supplement the texts of the biographies.

Huo Guang, born before 130 BC, was one of the few men who both reached the highest point of an official career in Former Han times and also died of natural

² For a more detailed account of these arrangements, see Loewe, *Divination, mythology and monarchy*, pp. 274–86, and 'The imperial way of death', 86–102. HHS 1A, p. 27, HHSJJ 1A.18b note.

³ Numbers attached to proper names of Former Han follow those given in Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary*.

causes in full recognition of the services that they had rendered. A half-brother of Huo Qubing 霍去病 (died 117 BC), who was a nephew of Liu Che 劉徹 (Wudi; reigned 141–87 BC), he saw his own grand-daughter married to Liu Fuling 劉弗陵 (Zhaodi; reigned 87–74 BC) and his daughter to Liu Bingyi 劉病已 (Xuandi; reigned 74–48 BC), and he held office during the reigns of those three emperors.⁴ He thus witnessed the major change in Han imperial policies from the expansionist days of the 130s and 120s to the retrenchment that set in from c. 90 BC, and he survived moments of major dynastic crisis, and at times violence, in 91, 87 and 74 BC. As one of four senior officials appointed to guide the young Zhaodi, aged eight *sui* 歲 at his accession, he survived the deaths of his colleagues Jin Midi 金日磾 in 86 BC, and Sang Hongyang 桑弘羊 and Shangguan Jie 上官桀 (2) in 80 BC. He exercised a strong influence on Xuandi who came to the throne at the age of eighteen, and he acted as the major controlling power in public affairs. When he died, with the title of General-in-Chief (*Da Jiangjun* 大將軍) and the honorary title of Marshal of State (*Da Sima* 大司馬), his services had been rewarded to such an extent that the estates of his nobility amounted to the exceptionally large size of 17,000 households, and his personal wealth was correspondingly great. Huo Guang died in 68 BC. His posthumous treatment perhaps owed much to an acknowledgement that the services which he had rendered over twenty years and more had contributed profoundly to the stability of the dynasty. Within two years his family had been eliminated, thanks to implication in dynastic intrigue. Their fortunes lie outside the scope of this enquiry.

Liu Jian (8) was the son of Liu Dan 劉旦 (1) who became king of Yan in 117 BC and committed suicide in 80 BC following his failed attempt to succeed as emperor. Pardoned for any part that he might have played in the plot, Liu Jian was reduced to commoner status; but to restore the continuity of his line, in 73 BC he was named as king of Guangyang 廣陽, a small area that had formerly been an integral part of his father's kingdom of Yan. He died in 44 BC.⁵

Liu Yan was a son of Guangwudi (reigned AD 25 to 57) and the Empress Guo 郭. Named king of Zhongshan in AD 54, in AD 72 he put to death one of his own consorts for a fault that she had committed and he temporarily suffered the loss of some of his territory by way of punishment. When he died, in AD 90, the Empress Dowager Dou 竇 and Dou Xian 竇憲 were in control of the court and it was due to them that an inordinately large sum of money was granted for the expenses of his funeral.⁶

The account that is given of the orders for Huo Guang's funeral, which included features of those fit for emperors, is perhaps the most complete that we have for early imperial times, and it is possible to interpret it in the light both of other passages of literature and of reports on excavations. The literary sources on which we may draw are prescriptive, narrative and critical. Detailed rules and the conventional procedures of *li* 禮 for major funerals of state take their place in the treatise of

⁴ For a full account of Huo Guang, see Loewe, *A Biographical Dictionary*, pp. 170–4.

⁵ *HS* 63, p. 2759; *HSBZ* 63.14a.

⁶ *HHS* 42, p. 1449; *HHSJJ* 42.19a; for a reference to his tomb, see *HHSJJ* 42.20a note.

the *Xu Han zhi* 續漢志 and this is supplemented by citations from works that are now lost, such as the *Han jiu yi* 漢舊儀, and by judicious reference to the *Li ji*. Such notices concern emperors, their immediate kin and other persons of high rank, and they read as if they applied to all such individuals who lived during the four hundred years of the Former and Later Han periods; only exceptionally is there a reference to a person known to history. There is thus little, if any, indication of whether such rules and procedures were observed throughout the dynasty or whether, as is more likely, they were subject to change.

Narrative accounts of funeral arrangements are available, but again for a few exceptional cases only. Criticism is usually of the form of protest against the enormous expenses involved in funerals of this type.⁷ It is also voiced as a nostalgic longing for the plain living and high thinking of the ideal past, or as a contrast between the *mores* of a former age and those of the decadent present. Such expressions of view may also tell of a faith or, alternatively, of a disbelief in the efficacy of certain measures thought to prevent the decay of the human body; or they may show a keen awareness of the attentions paid by robbers to richly furnished tombs. They also refer to the threat to or even breakdown of distinctions of rank, as seen when those of lower status were aping the ways of their superiors and indulging in excessively extravagant funerals. The critics also decry the contrast between the lavish attentions paid to the dead in this way and the failure to render the services that had been the due of their deceased relatives during their lifetimes.

The position of Huo Guang's tomb has been identified, lying some four kilometres to the north-east of Wudi's tomb of Maoling 茂陵.⁸ As yet it has not been excavated, but the orders given for its construction may be verified by examination of the reports of a few major tombs that are relevant and of the accounts of artifacts found at a number of other sites.

It has been estimated that close to 30,000 tombs have been identified as dating from the Han period.⁹ Impressive as the reports of excavation are, they can concern no more than a fraction of that number, and as yet none of the imperial tombs of the period, whose situations are mainly identified, have been subject to a thorough investigation.¹⁰ Probably the earliest large-scale Han tombs for which reports are available are those of no. 1 Mawangdui 馬王堆, and no. 168 Fenghuang shan 鳳凰山 (of 168 and 167 BC);¹¹ no. 2 Wangdu 望都 (AD 182) is one of the latest. Those that are of particular significance to the present study are those built for Liu Jian 劉

⁷ The classic case of criticism of lavish funerals, following the essays of the *Mozi* 6 ('Jie zang' 節葬) and the *Lü shi chun qiu* 10 (2 'Jie sang' 節喪), is seen in the valedictory rescript left by Wendi (*HS* 4, pp. 131–2; *HSBZ* 4.19a–21a). Protests couched in forceful terms are seen in *YTL* 6 (29 'San bu zu' 散不足), pp. 353–4, and *QFL* 3(12 'Fou chi' 浮侈, pp. 134–7).

⁸ *Zhongguo wenwu ditu ji*, p. 215; the tomb is close to those of Huo Qubing and Jin Midi. For an early discovery of timber at the site, see *HSBZ* 68.12a note; for the discovery of four pieces of eaves' tiling (*wadang* 瓦當) with rarely seen inscriptions close to the tomb, see *WW* 1976.7, 54; see also *Wen bo* 文博 1993.1, 64.

⁹ *KG* 1999.9, 807.

¹⁰ For the position of the tombs of Former Han emperors, see Liu and Li, *Xi Han shiyi ling*, and Loewe, *Divination, mythology and monarchy*, pp. 274–81; for the situation and dimensions of those of Later Han, see Bielenstein, *Lo-yang*, pp. 83–7. For work done at the site of Jingdi's tomb, see note 30 below; for a report on the excavation of parts of the complex of the tomb of Xuandi, but not the tomb itself, see *Han Du ling ling yuan yizhi*.

¹¹ For this writer's personal doubts on the identification of tomb nos. 4 and 5 Yangjia wan 楊家灣 as that of Zhou Bo 周勃, who died in 169, and Zhou Yafu 周亞夫 (died 143 BC), see B1, B2 below.

建 (8) at Dabaotai 大葆台 (died 44 BC) and Liu Yan 劉焉 at Beizhuang 北莊, Dingxian 定縣 (died AD 90), for whom details are given below (see under G Huangchang stones). In the latter case we are particularly fortunate. Not only is the identification of the occupant all but certain; in addition there is a short description of the funeral;¹² and the finds and details of the tomb, including the remains of a jade-suit and a barricade (*ticou* 題湊) structure, may be compared with the orders that we have for the tomb of Huo Guang.

The account of the funeral arrangements for Huo Guang (*HS* 68, p. 2948; *HSBZ* 68.11b) is best understood if it is read as describing, step-by-step, the treatment to be provided for his body, starting with dressing the corpse and proceeding outwards to the structures of the inner and outer parts of the tomb. The account then turns to the cortège, funeral procession and interment, and closes with the measures taken to maintain the tomb in a manner that would be correct and appropriate. Notes on the major textual problems and technicalities follow below, after the translation of the passage.

At Huo Guang's death, the Emperor and the Empress Dowager¹³ attended the funeral in person. Ren Xuan 任宣, a Grand Counsellor of the Palace (*Taizhong Dafu* 太中大夫)¹⁴ and five Secretaries in Attendance on the Imperial Counsellor (*Shi yushi* 侍御史)¹⁵ who carried the insignia of authority made the arrangements. Officials of the grade of two thousand *Shi* 石 (*zhong* 中)¹⁶ prepared the grave in the style of that for a general of the forces. The Emperor ordered a grant of gold and cash,¹⁷ an hundred sets of clothes of fine and coarse silk and embroidered materials, fifty cases of clothing,¹⁸ jade-discs,¹⁹ a variety of precious stones and a suit of jade.²⁰ There was to be an assemblage of coffins of catalpa,²¹ an inner compartment of *pian* wood [a kind of Lauraceae], a barricade structure of fresh timber, with fifteen sets of containers for storage in the outer chamber, of *cong* wood [pine], and a device named *wen-ming*, provided by the Eastern Garden. In all respects the arrangements were to follow the institutions prescribed for an emperor.

Huo Guang's body and coffin were loaded on to a hearse whose inner covering was of golden silk and which was surmounted by feathered plumes at the left. Infan-

¹² *HHS* 42 p. 1450 (*HHSJJ* 42. 20a).

¹³ This was presumably Zhaodi's Empress Shangguan Huanghou 上官皇后, who was a grand-daughter of Shangguan Jie 上官桀 (2) and of Huo Guang, being aged about 21 *sui* 歲.

¹⁴ Ren Xuan was related to the Huo family by marriage; see *HSBZ* 88.9b note; for *Taizhong Dafu*, see Bielenstein (who renders the term 'Grand Palace Grandee'), *Bureaucracy*, pp. 25, 30 and 166 note 110.

¹⁵ For *Shi yushi* (Bielenstein 'Attending Secretary'), see Hulsewé, 'The Shuo-wen Dictionary', p. 254.

¹⁶ The grade of *zhong er qian shi* 中二千石 was that of the highest officials of the empire, except for that of a Chancellor of State (*Xiangguo* 相國) on the rare occasions when such an official was nominated. See Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, pp. 125–32.

¹⁷ For the sums granted on these occasions, see note 72 below.

¹⁸ Provision of material for clothing is recorded in the form of 30,000 bolts for Xinye jun 新野君, 3,000 plus 10,000 bolts for Liang Shang 梁商 and 40,000 bolts for Huandi's mother; *HHS* 10A, p. 424, 34, p. 1177, 10B, p. 442; *HHSJJ* 10A.19a; 34.9a; 10B.5a.

¹⁹ For *Han shu* 璧, *Qian Han ji* 17.7b reads 璧玉.

²⁰ For *Han shu* 玉衣, *Qian Han ji* 17.7b reads 玉衾; for the implications of 衾, i.e. a mouth filler, see under C below.

²¹ For *Han shu* 梓宮, *Qian Han ji* 17.7b reads 梓棺; for the renderings that are adopted here for trees, see the appendix below.

try, light-waggoned troops and five units of the forces of the northern barracks were called out for duty, the forces lining the route as far as Maoling 茂陵 by way of escort for the cortège.²²

Huo Guang was granted the posthumous title of Xuancheng hou 宣成侯. Conscript servicemen from the three commanderies of Henan, Henei and Henan were ordered to carry out the excavation and replacement of the soil, with the construction of the tomb and sacrificial hall. A park and administrative unit of 300 families was established with its head and his assistant, in order to maintain the services and protect the site, in accordance with the traditional system.

The foregoing account together with the literary and material evidence upon which this study draws below, both raises certain questions and allows certain conclusions.

1. There are clear indications, in the orders to follow certain institutions and for the attachment of certain insignia to the hearse, that the arrangements for Huo Guang's funeral should follow those prescribed for an emperor. We may therefore suggest that we have before us a fair account of some of the procedures for an imperial funeral and we may expect that excavation of the tombs of the emperors of Han would reveal some of the features that are mentioned. The most conspicuous features are the enclosure of the body in a suit of jade; a multiplicity of coffins; the design of the tomb as a set of chambers, including an inner room of repose with a hall for audience or entertainment adjoining its front; a strongly fortified protective wall; and external compartments for the receipt of some of the funerary goods and furnishings. Both this account and the pattern seen in some of the large-scale tombs now excavated give a fair indication of the magnificent scale on which the Han imperial tombs were based.

2. Funerals of this type were to be provided regularly for emperors and perhaps for some of their nearest kin, and it was only by express command that they were made available to others. Such exceptional cases depended on an emperor's personal bounty, which was extended to a particularly meritorious official, as with Huo Guang, or to a special favourite, such as Dong Xian 董賢 (2), who died shortly after 1 BC. As it was the imperial workshops that were responsible for making some of the equipment, it was not easy, and indeed may in theory have been impossible, for others to obtain it. There are nonetheless indications that by Later Han times less favoured individuals were at times able to do so.

3. The evidence that is before us validates the significance of the regulations and conventions that are laid down in the various treatises on *li* concerning imperial funerals. It follows that details of other topics, such as those for robes, or carriages, which are specified meticulously in such writings, should be taken seriously rather than being dismissed out of hand as theoretical statements of an ideal that was never put into practice.

4. So far from originating in imperial times, most of the features of these funerals may be traced back to their beginnings several centuries previously; and while a growing elaboration and complexity may be seen, no precise dating is possible for such developments.

²² Maoling, the site of Han Wudi's tomb, lay a distance of some thirty kilometres to the north-west of Chang'an.

5. The use of small pieces of jade, specially shaped and drilled, for covering a body may likewise be traced back for many centuries, possibly until Western Zhou times. Such pieces were sewn on to fabrics with which parts of the dead were dressed; or they formed parts of a face-mask; or they were pieced together to form a case for the head or one of the limbs. How far in early times the motives for these practices sprang from religious beliefs or were merely decorative can hardly be said. The first attested example of a complete suit dates from 122 BC, by when it would seem that it arose from a trust in the preservative properties of jade.

6. The barricade structure (*ticou* 題湊), as specified for Huo Guang and seen in some of the tombs, was in principle no innovation. It was intended to provide a stout defence for the tomb, presumably against both the destructive powers of the elements and the malevolent intentions of robbers, which were too frequent to be ignored.²³ Such precautions were not needed in tombs which took the form of deep dug pits, as at Mawangdui 馬王堆, or of passages and chambers cut into the rock, as at Mancheng 滿城. An impressive precedent for the erection of stout walls for defensive purposes is seen at the tombs of king Cuo 酈 of Zhongshan 中山 (c. 300 BC), where they measured perhaps up to 27 metres in depth.²⁴ What was new in Han times, as far as may be known, was the use of a very large number of metre long timbers, stacked for the purpose, to be followed later by the use of stones, hewn to precise dimensions.

7. At a number of sites, particularly that of Yongcheng 永城 (B 7 and 8 below), some of the stones or timbers with which the tomb was constructed carried inscriptions which were generally intended to act as directions to the artisans engaged in the work. Such inscriptions may give the positions in which the stones were to be placed, with the number of the course and the serial number of the particular stone therein, the measurements of the stone's three dimensions; a date; the names of some of the artisans; and an authentication that the stone had passed inspection. The presence of such instructions suggests that the work of preparing some of these structures had taken place away from the site where they were to be erected. Such a practice was not unknown in mediaeval times in England.²⁵

8. One cannot help but be impressed by the great effort directed to the protection given to the body of a deceased person, clothed in its jade-suit, encased in its many coffins, housed in its inner chamber and fortified by a barricade structure. The purposes of these attentions may well have been twofold, to prevent the decomposition of the body and to secure the valuable treasures buried in the tomb from robbers. Successful attempts to maintain a body are seen, without the use of jade-suits, at tomb no. 1 Mawangdui 馬王堆 and no. 168 Fenghuang shan 鳳凰山, Jiangling 江陵 (Hubei), which date from 168 and 167 BC.²⁶ Other methods or attempts to maintain a tomb free from decay are seen in the insertion of a layer of charcoal, as

²³ An awareness of these dangers may be seen in the valedictory edict of Wei Wendi (AD 222); see B 59 below.

²⁴ In Pingshan xian 平山縣, Hebei; WW 1979.1, 1.

²⁵ An excellent example of marks made to assist assembly may be seen in the sedilia, now situated to the south of the high altar in the parish church of Winchcombe, Gloucestershire; see also G.G. Coulton, *Art and the Reformation*, pp. 158–62.

²⁶ *Mawangdui Report*, vol. I, pp. 28–34, vol. II, Pl. 68–70; for Fenghuangshan, see WW 1975.9, 1–7, 22; and KGXB 1993.4, 455–513 and Plate X.

at Yangjia shan and a final sealing of charcoal and a sticky white clay substance at Dabaotai.²⁷

Although a faith in the ability of jade to prevent bodily decomposition does not appear to be stated in positive terms, its currency is to be inferred from material evidence, from express denials that are seen in Later Han times,²⁸ and from reports, apparently credible at the time, of the discovery of cases where such measures had been effective.²⁹ Such a faith would appear to have persisted at times when the hopes that centered on the destination of the soul were varied and were giving rise to the use of different types of talismans. These latter are seen variously at Mawangdui, in a search for the Blessed Isles of the East; or for the most felicitous place in cosmic terms, as cast on TLV mirrors; or for the safety, guidance and protection in the realm of Xiwangmu 西王母.

9. In cases such as that of Huo Guang and at Dabaotai certain funerary items were deliberately stored in chambers outside the protection of the *ticou* barricade. Possibly such items did not include the most valuable treasures that were buried in a tomb. In a number of instances ceramic figures or containers for consumable supplies have been found in such locations. It may be asked whether these items were intended for consumption by the *po* 魄 soul, with animal figurines doing duty for real meat. The supply of a very large number of ceramic animals in the many trenches that led up to the four walls of Yangling 陽陵, the tomb of Han Jingdi (died 141 BC), may lend support to this suggestion.³⁰

This enquiry raises a number of questions that yet await research. In the first place it may be asked how far the major funerals of early imperial times owed their characteristics to earlier practice.³¹ For early imperial times it has yet to be shown how the design of the tombs that are considered here developed from those that were being adopted during Qin and at the outset of the Han empire. As yet it would seem that the tombs of the First Qin Emperor (died 210 BC) and Han Jingdi (died 141 BC) were not designed in the same way as that ordered for Huo Guang, but only full excavation of these tombs, and of those of Gaodi (died 195 BC), Huidi (died 188 BC), Wendi (died 157 BC) and Wudi (died 87 BC) can provide the necessary information. Less general questions are seen in the problem of identifying the occupants of many of the tombs that are under reference here, in particular those of Yangjia wan (B 1 and B 2) and Xiangbizui (F 13), and the meaning of the term *wenming* 溫明 (see J below); but a far more reaching enquiry concerns the circumstances in which full-scale jade-suits came into use.

It will be seen below that fully assembled jade-suits followed several stages in which jade was used as a bodily protection in less elaborate forms. If, as it may be

²⁷ See B14, B 21 below; the substance is described as *Bai gaoni* 白膏泥 (*Dabaotai Report*, p. 2), i.e. white sticky clay.

²⁸ E.g., statements by Liang Shang *HHS* 34, p. 1177, *HHSJJ* 34.9a and Wei Wendi *SGZ* 2, p. 81.

²⁹ See *HHS* 11, p. 484; *HHSJJ* 11.13a, and *Bei shi* 7, p. 263.

³⁰ For information about Yangling, I am grateful to Professor Han Wei 韓偉, Director Shaanxi Archaeology Institute, for his oral account of the work done at the tomb, presented at a lecture given at the British Museum, London, on 26 November 1999.

³¹ See Yu Weichao, 'Han dai zhuhouwang yu liehou muzang de xingzhi fenxi'.

thought or perhaps speculated, complete suits came into use from c. 130 BC, it may be asked whether religious beliefs or intellectual theories had been concerned. It may be noted:

(1) Whatever the implications may have been, a hope to acquire 'medicaments of non-death (*bu si zhi yao* 不死之藥)' appears at least from the times of the Warring States.³²

(2) As noted above successful attempts were made to preserve bodies by means other than those of jade-suits early in Han times at tomb no. 1 Mawangdui 馬王堆 and no. 168 Fenghuang shan 鳳凰山, Jiangling 江陵 (Hubei), which date from 168 and 167 BC.

(3) Arguments against the value of jade as a preservative and a distrust of the purpose of such attempts are seen in the *Huainanzi*, which was presented to the throne in 139.³³

(4) The Empress Dowager Dou 竇, well known for her promotion at high levels of ideas named as Huang Lao 黃老, died in 135 BC.

(5) Possibly a cult of immortality through the intermediacy of Huangdi was gaining some adherents, including Wudi,³⁴ but it has to be shown that this had any bearing on the practice of burial that is under review. Nor are there cogent reasons to show that any of the prominent thinkers of the day had been proclaiming the value of jade as a preservative of the human body from corruption, though such a motive is mentioned in negative terms, as seen in the *Huainanzi* and as voiced by Liang Shang 梁商 (died AD 141).³⁵

(6) A new type of ideology and government policies signifying a marked change from those of consolidation that had been adopted hitherto and an initiative for positive and expansionist government became operative shortly after the Empress Dowager's death in 135 BC.³⁶

It has yet to be shown whether such a change may have brought with it a determination to reject the views of the *Huainanzi*, and possibly other modes of thought known as Huang Lao, in favour of studied attempts to preserve a body by the use of jade-suits. Were such a connection to be seen to apply, it would be understandable that the first positive evidence that we possess of their use dates from shortly afterwards. The suggestion that it was partly the improved economic conditions of Wudi's reign that allowed the production of jade-suits is, in the opinion of the present writer, difficult to sustain.³⁷ That we lack evidence for their use after the middle of the second century AD, and indeed encounter some doubts regarding their efficacy that were voiced at that time, may perhaps been the result of the growing account taken of Buddhist ideas. The instructions issued by Wei Wendi in AD 222 for burial without a jade-suit may perhaps be taken as a *terminus ad quem* for the present enquiries (see B59 below). With the overriding proviso once more that the

³² E.g., see *Han Feizi* 22 ('Shuo lin' 說林), p. 189.

³³ See *Huainanzi* 11.10a; also 12.29b. In its consideration of the relationship between life and death, the argument of *Huainanzi* 7 has no scope for a conception of a deathless body which is preserved intact.

³⁴ *SJ* 28, p. 1385; *HS* 25A, p. 1233; *HSBZ* 25A.35a.

³⁵ *HNZ* 11.10a; *HHS* 34, p. 1177; *HHSJ* 34.9a.

³⁶ See *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. I, pp. 152–70.

³⁷ *KG* 1981.1, 52.

evidence is scanty and cannot be regarded as being representative for the whole period that is relevant, it may also be asked whether the use of jade-suits appeared together with the development from a simple tomb of a single rectangular type to the construction of more complex tombs built with several chambers and resembling private residences.

The following notes concern the interpretation of some of the terms seen in the orders for Huo Guang's burial, and their relation to excavated tombs and finds.

- A Zhuji (or xi) 珠璣
- B Yu yi 玉衣, yu xia 玉匣, 柩 (jade-suits)
- C Fan 飯, Han 含 (mouth fillers)
- D Zigong 梓宮 (inner coffin)
- E Pianfang (or Bianfang) 便房 (inner structure)
- F Ticou 題湊 (barricade style)
- G Huangyangshi (Huangchang stones)
- H Waizang guo 外葬椁 (depository)
- I Dong yuan 東園 (title of an official department)
- J Wenming 溫明 (a device called Wenming)
- K Wenliang ju 輜輦車 (hearse)
- L Huang wu zuo du 黃屋左纛 (golden inner lining and feathered plumes)

A Zhuji (or xi) 珠璣

These terms are explained as circular pearls and pearls that are not circular, but the contexts in which the expression is found suggest that it may well indicate little more than a variety of precious stones or even other types of jewellery. *Zhuji* are included both among the products of Yue 越, in the south, along with rhinoceros and ivory, and in the rarities which the leaders of Min Yue 閩越 sent to Liu Jian 劉建 (3), king of Jiangdu 127–121 BC. They are also mentioned among the products of Jibin 劇賓, identified in all probability as Kashmir. — *HS* 28B, p. 1670; 53, p. 2417; 96A, p. 3885; *HSBZ* 28B.67b–68a; 53.6b; 96A.24b; *Shuowen* 1A.36b; Hulsewé, *China in Central Asia*, pp. 104–7, note 203

B Yu yi 玉衣, yu xia 玉匣, 柩

While there is reason to show that from the middle part of the Chunqiu until the middle part of the Zhanguo periods small fragments of jade, drilled for the purpose, were sometimes sewn on to fabrics to cover parts of the dead, the first certain datable evidence for the use of a complete suit is for 122 BC; remnants of the latest example date from AD 182. Neither literary nor material evidence can as yet attest that jade-suits proper were in use in the Chunqiu or Zhanguo. Both the identification of some of the occupants of the tombs where remnants survived and the lite-

rary evidence, which records instances from 68 BC to AD 153, support the view that burial in a jade-suit depended on the express permission or order of the central government, possibly of the emperor in person. Both types of evidence show that by the middle of Later Han times the practice had been becoming more widespread and uncontrolled, calling for censure. There is no evidence to show how early or at what stage regulations were set to prescribe the details of these burials so as to accord with the rank of the deceased person; nor can it be told for what period such regulations were operative (see B 20 below).

Of necessity the available evidence cannot be taken to show clearly defined periods when it became regular practice for certain types of individual to be buried in this way. If, as the finds and records of cases may suggest, the practice started to become increasingly more frequent after *c.* 130 BC, it must be asked if a motive can be found for so doing, whether for religious, intellectual or dynastic reasons. This was a time when the central government was taking steps to reduce the powers of the kings — and it is to be noted that the early examples include cases of several kings — and when intensive government and expansionist policies were reaching their highest point of achievement, following a period of imperial consolidation.

At a point in time which cannot be determined it would seem that the use of jade for decorative purposes in dressing a corpse was overtaken by enclosure in a suit with the hope that it would preserve the body from decomposition.³⁸ Such a motive would well accord with other measures designed to provide comforts and a supply of consumable goods with the corpse should the *po* 魄 require them; the body must likewise be kept in a state that would suit the *po*'s needs.

The prevailing belief that burial in a jade-suit prevented the onset of bodily decay, as appears to have been the hope of many, may well have provided a strong motive for stealing a jade-suit from a grave. Made as they were under conditions of strict and possibly secret surveillance by an office attached to the palace, as the evidence suggests, these suits were not generally available for acquisition, and fashioning them required a craftsman's skill of a high order and a ready supply of jade suitable for the purpose; and it would take a long period of time. The instances where no more than a small number of pieces survive in a tomb for excavators to retrieve may well testify to the successful determination of robbers to seize a complete suit, at the cost of a few pieces dropping off; and for this reason the discovery in a tomb of no more than one or two fragments of a suit cannot be discounted as insufficient evidence for original burial in one that was complete. In some instances (e.g., B 1, B 2, B 5) the considerable number of pieces that have been found yet falls short of those needed for a complete suit. It may be suggested that in such cases tomb robbers had failed to remove the complete casing and had left behind the part or parts which enclosed the head, or one or more of the limbs.

Both the material and the literary evidence is scanty, being distributed widely in place and time, and it would be all too dangerous to draw conclusions from the absence of similar evidence elsewhere or at different times. Nonetheless it needs to be borne in mind that there is as yet no certain material evidence for a jade-suit in

³⁸ For decorative uses, see Jessica Rawson 'Ancient Chinese ritual as seen in the material record', in Joseph P. McDermott (ed.), *State and court ritual in China*, pp. 39–40.

its complete form before 122 BC, whatever its predecessors may have been. At the same time the negative evidence from literature cannot be altogether ignored; terms such as *lin shi* 鱗施,³⁹ *yu yi* 玉衣, *yu xia* 玉匣, 柙 are not found in the *Mozi*, *Li ji*, *Zhou li*, *Zuo zhuan*, *Gu liang zhuan*, *Gong yang zhuan*, *Shiji*, *Fengsu tongyi* or *Bo hu tong*; jade-suits are not named in the valedictory decree of Wendi (died 157 BC)⁴⁰ in which he rejected the honours of a fulsome burial; nor do they feature in the long protest of the *Yan tie lun* 鹽鐵論 (compiled perhaps after 68 BC) against extravagant funerary practices.⁴¹ Only one of the surviving fragments of the various texts on Han institutions (*Han guan qi zhong* 漢官七種) refers to jade-suits, which are not mentioned in the *Du duan* 獨斷 of Cai Yong 蔡邕 (AD 133–92). The first occurrence of the term *yu yi* in the *Han shu* is in the provisions given for Huo Guang's funeral in 68 BC. However, the absence in the histories of specific orders for the use of jade-suits in the burial of named members of the imperial family, kings (*Zhuhouwang* 諸侯王) or nobles (*Chehou* 徹侯) need not be taken as negative evidence. If, as is likely, they were provided regularly in such cases, almost on a routine basis, they would have been no reason to mention them.

Surviving parts of more than forty jade-suits have been found between 1946 and 1992 from tombs in Anhui, Beijing, Guangdong, Hebei, Henan, Hunan, Jiangsu, Shaanxi, Shandong, and Yunnan. In two instances (B 1 and 2, and B 11 and 12) two adjoining tombs each included such remnants; in one instance (B 36, 37 and 38) two adjoining tombs included remnants of three suits. The number of fragments found varies from 1 (B 9 and 22) or two (B 16 and 21) to 5169 (B 32); in five cases it has been possible to reconstitute the suits to an original form (B 10, 11, 12, 23, 36).

In a few instances it is possible to suggest dates for the tombs with some confidence, and these range from 122 BC to AD 182; a few may perhaps be of earlier origin and consideration will be given below to some of the stages which preceded the use of complete suits. These dates are revealed by the presence of seals engraved with the names of persons who may be identified as the occupants of the tomb, and mention of some of these is recorded in the histories. Inscriptions on some of the items buried in the tombs or on one of its walls may likewise provide such information. In other instances the style of the tomb's construction, the type of object included or the style of its decor and the types of coin buried may suggest the limits within which a tomb may be dated. Such dates usually fall between the years mentioned above.

The tombs were distributed as follows, as between the different units of administration in Han times:

	Constituent kingdoms
Former Han	B 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 11, 12, 14, 16, 17, 18, 19, 21, 23, 24
Later Han	B 26, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42

³⁹ Interpreted to mean the use of small fragments of jade, linked together; see under B 44, B 45 below.

⁴⁰ *HS* 4, p. 131; *HSBZ* 4.19a.

⁴¹ *Yan tie lun* 6 (29 'San bu zu' 散不足), pp. 353–4.

Commanderies

Former Han B 1, 2, 4, 13, 15, 20, 22, 25

Later Han B 29, 35, 43

(B 7 and 8 are subject to doubt)

The following individuals may be identified as occupants of the tombs, with varying degrees of certainty:

Li Taihou 李太后, Queen of Liang, dying perhaps 125–124 BC

Zhao Hu (Mo) 趙胡 (昧), King of Nan Yue 137–122 BC

Liu Sheng 劉勝 (1), King of Zhongshan 154–112 BC

Dou Wan 竇綰, Queen of Zhongshan, dying after 112 BC

A king of Dian 滇 (c. 108 BC)

Liu Ande 劉安德, Noble of Xiangshi 象氏 108–81 BC

Liu Yanshou 劉延壽 (1), King of Chu 100–68 BC

The Queen of Liu Xu 劉胥 (2), King of Guangling 117–54 BC

Liu Qingji 劉慶忌 (3), King of Lu 88–51 BC

Liu Qian 劉遷 (3), Noble of Nanqu 南曲 81–51 BC

Liu Jian 劉建 (8), King of Guangyang 73–44 BC

Liu Xing 劉興 (2), King of Zhongshan 23–8 BC

Liu Yan 劉焉, King of Zhongshan AD 54–90

Liu Chong 劉崇, King of Chen AD 120–124

Liu Chang 劉暢, King of Zhongshan AD 141–174

A consort of one of the kings of Rencheng AD 121–175

In addition Liu Ci 劉疵, Liu ?Zai 劉婁 and Liu Zu 劉祖, who are otherwise unknown, appear as names which identify a tomb. Some alternatives are suggested for B 28 and 36.

Perhaps twenty of the tombs in which these remnants were found may be dated to Former Han, the remainder to Later Han. The types of tomb varied, including some of pit type. There are some early examples of multi-chambered tombs, and some cut into the face of the cliff. In numbers that increased from the middle or later parts of Later Han, multi-chambered tombs were being built in brick or stone. In at least two cases there are signs that precautions had been taken to prevent or delay a body's decomposition (B 14, with the use of charcoal, and B 21, with the use of white sticky clay).

The shapes of the jade pieces varied, including those that were square, rectangular, triangular, trapezoid, circular or semi-circular. Engraved decoration on some of the pieces shows that they had been cut from existing jade vessels or ornamental objects (see B 20 for cloud pattern or floriate designs; and B 4 and 24).⁴² In at least one instance (B 11, 12) some of the pieces had been marked with numbers, presumably to facilitate assembly, or perhaps accountancy. Small holes were regularly

⁴² See WW 1998.8, 21.

drilled at the corners or extremities of the fragments for the insertion of thread.⁴³ Traces of verdigris⁴⁴ or rust, or silk fragments have enabled description of the thread as gold, silver or copper.

Prescriptions for the type of thread to be used in the make-up of these suits, dependent on the rank of the deceased person, are seen in the text of the *Xu Han zhi* or in comments that may be of uncertain date.⁴⁵ To what extent such prescriptions were obeyed, or for what period they were operative, may not be known, but the evidence from the tombs together with the known or suggested dates and identifications of the occupants does not necessarily bear out a view that the regulations were followed throughout Han times. Nor can it be determined for certain whether references in the archaeological reports to gold, silver or copper necessarily specify the use of such metals or that of a thread bearing no more than signs, such as colouring. Descriptions of the tombs and their contents refer to the type of thread as follows:

(a) Gold: eight instances, including kings of Chu (B 3, 6), Nan Yue (B 10); and Zhongshan (B 11 and 33); a queen of Zhongshan (B 12); and B 4 and 7. The latest identifiable date is that of 8 or 7 BC.

(b) Silver: eight instances including kings of Lu (B 19), Chen (B 34) and Zhongshan (B 39), and possibly Xiapi (B 26); and also B 1, 2 and 33.

(c) Copper: twelve cases, including a king of Zhongshan (B 32), consorts of the kings of Rencheng (B 40) and Zhongshan (B 39); and either a king of Xiapi or a noble of that area (B 28).

While hard evidence for the earliest date of a complete jade-suit in Han times remains at 122 BC, material finds show how their use developed from Western Zhou times. Small pieces of precious stones, or pearls, drilled for stringing together by hempen cords, have been found, sometimes in large numbers, from tombs that may date from the time of Zhou Yi Wang 周懿王 (899/7–873 BC) until the Warring States, in Anhui, Shanxi (Tianma Qucun 天馬曲村), Yunnan and Zhejiang. Such pieces of jewellery are explained as deriving from face masks or coverings for the upper or lower parts of the body.⁴⁶ A passage in the *Yi li* is interpreted to indicate the use of fabrics on which fragments of precious materials were sewn.⁴⁷

Possibly it may be shown that in some instances a jade-covering was made to cover particular parts of the body, i.e. head, hands and feet,⁴⁸ and that a complete jade-suit was made by joining such component parts together. Such a practice may be exemplified in the case of the two suits from Mancheng (B 11, 12),⁴⁹ which are seen as consisting of twelve parts, and, perhaps in the cases of B 10, 23 and 25.

⁴³ For the system of jointure, see *Mancheng Report*, vol. I, pp. 344–69, Figures 227–242, and *WW* 1976. 7, 58–9; for examples as reconstituted, see *Mancheng Report*, vol. II, Pl. XIX' XX' and *Nan Yue Report* vol. II, Pl. III'.

⁴⁴ E.g., for verdigris see B 13 and 15.

⁴⁵ E.g., see *HHSJJ* (treatise) 6.10b and comments to *ibid.* 2a.

⁴⁶ See *Luoyang Zhongzhou lu*, pp. 116–24, for finds in tombs such as nos. 1, 467, 1316, 1723 and 2729, which are dated there in the sub-periods II–VI of Eastern Zhou (i.e. Middle Chunqiu to Middle Zhanguo); *KG* 1981.1, p. 51; *WW* 1994.8, 22–3 and 27 fig. 7; Rawson (as cited in note 38 above), pp. 39–40. See also (as cited in *KG* 1980.6, 495 note 5) *Dazhong ribao* of 31 August 1978 (not available to the present writer); *WW* 1984.8, 28, Colour Plate and p. 27. For a review of the finds from pre-imperial times, from tomb D9 M1, Zhenshan 真山 cemetery, Suzhou (Jiangsu), see Suzhou Bowuguan (ed.), *Zhenshan Dong Zhou mudu*, pp. 55–62.

⁴⁷ *Yi li* 35 ('Shi sang li' 士喪禮 12), 12a.

⁴⁸ See B 4, with illustration in *KG* 1980.6, 494 fig. 3.

⁴⁹ *KG* 1972.2, 41.

Some support for these suggestions may be seen in a few instances of finds of notably fewer than the total number of pieces that would be needed for a complete jade-suit and which may have derived from coverings for selected parts of the body; e.g., B 1 and 2, which included 200 and 202 pieces of jade; and B 5 with 600 pieces. In addition some tombs included pieces of jade used for particular purposes, e.g. as eye-shades (B 31, 40) or a nose-stopper (B 40). The use of jade mouth fillers is evidenced elsewhere.⁵⁰ It has also been suggested that the make-up of jade-suits followed the example of bodily armour.⁵¹

There are indications that some of the jade-suits had been prepared at workshops that may have been situated at a distance from the tombs where they were destined to lie. Such a workshop may be identified as the Dongyuan 東園 which was subordinated to the Superintendent of the Lesser Treasury (*Shaofu* 少府) of the central government.⁵² This suggestion is supported by two direct references, in one case for use by kings of the Fuyu 夫餘,⁵³ and the possibility that in one case (B 23) it was evidently necessary to tailor a suit to fit the deceased person may further strengthen the view that it had been delivered from elsewhere. The inscription of the characters Zhongshan 中山 on some of the pieces found in the tomb of a king of that kingdom (B 32) is further evidence. See also under B 23 below. In certain cases it may be asked whether it would indeed have been likely, or even possible, for a jade-suit to have been crafted in the areas of the sites where they were found, such as the kingdoms of Nan Yue 越南 and Dian 滇, or the habitat of the Fuyu 夫餘.

In some cases, such as those of the kings of Nan Yue (122 BC) and Dian (109 BC) who were not members of the imperial Liu 劉 family, it may be suggested that permission for such a burial was granted with the particular purpose of attracting or confirming the loyalties of a recipient and his heirs. If jade-suits were not always the entitlement of kings, it is possible that similar motives may perhaps have been operative in other cases, e.g., that of Liu Sheng 劉勝 (1), by way of compensation for the curtailment of the powers of the kings; or Liu Xing 劉興 (2), who had been passed over for nomination to succeed as emperor. Liu Chong 劉崇, king of Rencheng AD 121–49, had contributed money both for expenses at the borders during a revolt of the Qiang 羌 peoples and at the death of Shundi (AD 144); if it was he who was the occupant of the tomb at Jining (B 40) it could well be that the use of the jade-suit had been granted by way of a reward. Similarly there is reason to show that Liu Yan 劉焉, king of Zhongshan until AD 90, had previously received special favours.⁵⁴ The supposition that burial in jade depended on the imperial will is supported by the prescriptions for the practice, and the record that one case, of a eunuch, (Zhao Zhong 趙忠; in AD 153) contravened the regulations.

⁵⁰ E.g., at tomb no. 1 Mawangdui; see *Mawangdui Report*, vol. II, Pl. 68. See also KG 1997.3, 198 and 201, and fig. 8, Plate II; *Zhongguo wenwu jinghua* 中國文物精華 (Beijing: Wenwu chubanshe, 1997), p. 265, Plate 34 for a mask of jade from a tomb possibly identified as that of Liu Kuan 劉寬 (4), king of Jibei 97–87 BC (Shuangru shan 雙乳山 tomb no. 1).

⁵¹ KG 1981.1, 56.

⁵² For the Dongyuan, see *HHSJJ* (tr.) 6.1b, and I, pp. 45 ff. below.

⁵³ *HHS* 10A, p. 424, *HHSJJ* 10A.19a; this refers to a gift made by an Empress Dowager in AD 109; *HHS* 85, p. 2811, *HHSJJ* 85.4a for provision of suits to the kings of the Fuyu 夫餘.

⁵⁴ *HHS* 41, p. 1414; 42, p. 1449; *HHSJJ* 41.16a; 42.19b.

Material evidence

B 1 and 2 Tombs nos. 4 and 5, Yangjia wan 楊家灣, Xianyang 咸陽, Shaanxi (in the area of the Former Han Neishi 內史 from 198 BC, You Neishi 右內史 from 155 or 135, and You Fufeng 右扶風 from 104) 200 pieces of a jade-suit were found in tomb no. 4, and 202 in tomb no. 5, those of the latter being triangular, tapered, rectangular or trapezoid, with traces of silver thread in some of the drilled holes. The presence of *si shu* 四銖 and *ban liang* 半兩 coins suggests dating in the reigns of Wendi (180–157 BC) or Jingdi (157–141 BC). Dependent partly on the inclusion of figurines of military figures and horse, and on a remark in the *Shui jing zhu* (19.18b), it has been suggested that the tombs might be identified as those of Zhou Bo 周勃 (1) and his son Zhou Yafu 周亞夫, but there is no firm evidence for this, and the possibility that the text of the *Shui jing zhu*, itself far from precise, has been subject to misplacement cannot be ignored. Zhou Bo died in 169; Zhou Yafu, after a hunger strike in jail, in 143 BC.

The two tombs are situated twenty-two kilometres north-west of Xianyang, between those of Han Gaodi (Changling 長陵) and Han Jingdi (Yangling 陽陵). Examples of paired tombs whose occupants were a father and a son have yet to be identified. It may also be noted that Zhou Yafu can hardly be regarded as a favourite of Jingdi, who failed signally to recognise the merits of the man to whom he owed the preservation of his throne. It may be asked whether it is likely that Jingdi would have conferred the honour and privilege of burial in a jade-suit upon him. At least two scholars refer guardedly to the site as that of a joint burial of a husband and wife.⁵⁵ — *SJ* 57, pp. 2065, 2073; *HS* 40, pp. 2050, 2057; *Shui jing zhu* 19.18b notes; *WW* 1977.10, 16; *KG* 1981.1, 53; for objects from these tombs, see Carol Michaelson, *Gilded Dragons: Buried Treasures from China's Golden Ages*, pp. 44–8

B 3 Shizi shan 獅子山, Xuzhou 徐州, Jiangsu (Former Han kingdom of Chu 楚) 4,000 pieces of a jade-suit were included in a tomb lying close to a pit which included figurines of servicemen and horsemen. There were signs that the construction of the tomb had been interrupted before completion. Traces of gold thread were found in the holes drilled on some of the pieces, which were rectangular, trapezoid or triangular. Some of these bore marks which showed that they had been cut from existing jade objects. Other items included 200 bronze and 5 silver seals of officials of the kingdom of Chu, local officials and military officers. There were also two jade seals which were not engraved. The number of coins found is given variously as 176,000 or 180,000, including some *ban liang* 半兩 (of Qin), some elm-pod (current 205–175 BC) and some *si shu* 四銖, which were not minted before 175 BC; there were no *wu shu* 五銖 coins (first minted in 118 BC). The great variety of types of coin, extending to as many as 100, may be explained as the result of the freedom of minting that was allowed in 175; that a large number of coins of elm-pod or early

⁵⁵ Yu Weichao, p. 335, Liu Qingzhu and Li Yufang, pp. 16–21. In a personal communication dated 2–vi–2000, Professor Liu has expressed the view that the two tombs could be either those of Zhou Bo and his wife, or those of Zhou Yafu and his wife.

ban liang type were left by the tomb robbers may suggest that they were obsolete and useless by the time that they were engaged on their task.

There is thus strong evidence that the tomb had been built for one of the kings of the empire and the situation suggests a king of Chu. In view of the identification of the tombs of some of the other kings of Chu and the peculiar plan of the structure, which differs from the plans of those for other kings, it has been suggested that the occupant had been Liu Yingke 劉郢客 (1), who reigned from 178 to 175 BC, or Liu Wu 劉戊, who reigned from 174 to 154 BC. It is difficult to find other examples of a tomb that was planned in this way and that can be dated as early as the time of Liu Yingke; and in any event the *si shu* coins had only just started to be minted in the last year of his reign. In 154 Liu Wu joined the revolt of the seven kings and according to one account he committed suicide (*SJ* 50, p. 1988; Takigawa 50, p. 4). However, according to further references (*Shiji* 17, p. 840, Takigawa 17, p. 41 and *Han shu* 14, p. 397, *HSBZ* 14.5a) which do not record a posthumous title of honour for Liu Wu, the latter suffered the death penalty; if this was so, it is difficult to see that he would have been buried with the full honours exemplified in this tomb. It is also relevant to note that the succession to the kingdom was interrupted at Liu Wu's death, to be restored for Liu Li 劉禮 (1). According to *KG* 1998.8, p. 682 there is a considerable probability that it was the tomb of Liu Wu. Wang Kai 王愷 gives the possibilities as Liu Wu or Liu Dao 劉道 (1), who reigned from 150 to 128 BC, with the greater probability of Liu Wu. Huang Shengzhang adduces reasons to show that the occupant of B 3 cannot have been Liu Wu; on the basis of a seal which was inscribed *cisi* 祠祀, an office title that was introduced only in 144, he advances the view that this had been Liu Dao. Geng Jianjun argues that the evidence of the seals suggests Liu Yingke as the occupant. No suggestion has yet been made to identify the tomb as that of Liu Li (1), who reigned as king of Chu only from 153 to 150 BC. — *KG* 1998.8, 673–92; *WW* 1998.8, 4–33, 34–6; Wang Kai 王愷 'Xuzhou Shizi shan bingma yong yu Xi Han Chuguo' 徐州獅子山兵馬俑與西漢楚國; *SJ* 50, p. 1988; *HS* 36, p. 1923; *Jiangsu shi lun kao*, pp. 60–4; for a report on the burial pits which included a very large number of figurines of infantrymen, cavalry and chariots, see *WW* 1986.12, 1–16, colour plate and plates I–IV; for the tombs of other kings of Chu, see B 6 and B 16 below, and the appendix

B 4 Linyi 臨沂, Shandong (Former Han commandery of Donghai 東海) A tomb includes a seal engraved Liu Ci 劉疵, which is assumed to be the name of the person buried there. This name does not appear in the *Shiji* or *Han shu*, and suggestions that it is to be identified with Liu Deci 劉德疵 or Liu Chi 劉齒 (1) lack valid support. The presence of certain *ban liang* 半兩 coins in the tomb suggests that it dates from the reigns of Jingdi or Wudi. The tomb included very thin, smooth and shiny pieces of jade, some linked by gold thread, that derived from a face-mask, head-gear, and coverings for hands and feet, and showed signs of having been made from a disc or pendant. — *WW* 1980.2, 96; *KG* 1980.6, 493–5; see Figure 2 below

B 5 Hanshan cun 韓山村, Xuzhou 徐州, Jiangsu (Former Han kingdom of Chu 楚) One of the two pit tombs found at this site included seals engraved Liu ?Zai 劉

倅 and Qie 妾, and 600 pieces of a jade-suit, of square, rectangular, triangular and trapezoid shapes and drilled. The style of the ceramic wares and the presence of one *si shu* 四銖 coin indicate a dating in the early part of Former Han and the ornaments were typical of those of a woman's grave. Comparison with the finds from the tomb at Linyi 臨沂 (B 4 above) and with the number of pieces (716) used for the head, hands and feet for the tomb of Zhao Hu 趙胡 (2) (B 10 below) suggests that the 600 pieces found in this tomb likewise derived from particular parts of the body only. — *WW* 1997.2, 26

B 6 Beidong shan 北洞山, Tongshan xian 銅山縣 Xuzhou 徐州 (Former Han kingdom of Chu 楚) The style of this multi-chambered tomb, its large size, the similarity of its structure with the structures of the tombs of Zhao Hu 趙胡 (2), Liu Sheng 劉勝 (1) and Liu Qingji 劉慶忌 (3) and the inclusion of 70,000 coins (some evidently not used in circulation) suggest that it had been built for one of the kings, and the suggestion is borne out by the presence of fifty pieces of a jade-suit, of varying shapes, some drilled with seven and some with five holes, evidently linked by means of gold thread. Some of the shapes of the pieces are seen here uniquely; some bear traces of gold leaf. Inscriptions on twelve seals and the selection of ceremonial and other items that were included indicate that it was a tomb of one of the kings of Chu, between 175 and 128 BC, perhaps to be identified as Liu Dao 劉道 (1), reigned 150–128, or Liu Li 劉禮 (1), reigned 153–150 (see Geng Jianjun). — *WW* 1988.2, pp. 2–18, 68; *HS* 14, p. 398; *Jiangsu wenwu zonglu* p. 28

B 7 and 8 Tomb no. 1, Xishan 僖山, Yongcheng 永城 Henan (Former Han kingdom of Liang, later Peijun) This tomb was first thought to be of the Chunqiu period but on further inspection of its contents, which included a number of gilded bronze figures and a variety of jade items, it was recognised that it dated from Han times. Some of the stones of which it was built bore engraved inscriptions giving their position or other details. 1,000 pieces of a jade-suit, joined by gold thread, were found in the tomb, which is identified as that of one of the kings of Liang, of the latter part of Former Han. Tomb no. 2, which was contemporary with no. 1 and is identified as that of a king or queen of Liang, had reportedly included 600 pieces of a jade-suit. The site seems to have been situated in what was Liangguo 梁國 only until the reign of Jingdi (157–141 BC), when it was brought within Peijun 梁國 — *Yongcheng Report*, p. 13; *Wenwu bao* 文物報 1986.10, 31

B 9 Tomb no. 2 Baoan shan 保安山, Yongcheng 永城, Henan (in the Former Han kingdom of Liang 梁, later Peijun 沛郡) One piece of a jade-suit was found in the most highly complex tomb yet to be excavated in the group that formed the royal cemetery of the kings of Liang and which included the tomb of Liu Wu 劉武 (2), king of Liang from 168 to 143 BC. Tomb no. 2 bore the characteristics of the early or middle parts of Former Han, with examples of *ban liang* 半兩 but not of *wu shu* 五銖 coins. A large number of inscriptions giving the sexagenary terms for days, sometimes accompanied by the indication of the month, enable the dating to be assigned to between 140 and 138, or 129 and 128, or 125 and 123 BC. There

is little doubt that the occupant was Li Taihou 李太后, Queen of Liu Wu (2); the queen is likely to have died in 125 or 124. — *Yongcheng Xi Han Liang guo wang ling yu qin yuan*, pp. 215–9; for Li Taihou, see Loewe, *Biographical Dictionary* pp. 230 and 376, s.v. Liu Xiang 劉襄 (3)

B 10 Xianggang 象岡, Guangzhou (Former Han kingdom of Nan Yue 南越). This multi-chambered tomb has been identified as that of Zhao Hu 趙胡 (2), as he is known in the histories, alternatively Zhao Mo 趙昧, as appearing on one jade seal and some other items found in the tomb. He reigned as king of Nan Yue 南越 from 137 to 122 BC. The tomb included 2,291 pieces of a jade-suit, made up from ten component parts and bound in gold silk thread. The pieces were of rectangular, square, trapezoid or other shapes, some having been cut from existing jade objects or from cast-off fragments. Red silk was used for binding the whole together, as may be seen in its reconstituted form. This is the earliest example of a jade-suit to be identified and dated with confidence. — *Nan Yue Report*; for the seal, see vol. I, p. 199 and Figure 131.1; for the jade-suit, p. 154 and vol. II, Plate XC and colour plate III; *SJ* 113 p. 2970, Takigawa 113, p. 7; *HS* 95, 3853, *HSBZ* 95.11b; Prüch and von der Schulenberg

B 11 and 12 Nos. 1 and 2 tombs, Mancheng, Hebei (Former Han kingdom of Zhongshan 中山) Inscriptions on a number of items found in the tombs, including one copper seal engraved Dou Wan 竇綰, identify the occupants of these tombs as Liu Sheng 劉勝 (1), king of Zhongshan from 154 to 112 BC (tomb no. 1), and his queen Dou Wan (tomb no. 2) who died after 112 BC. The two tombs included 2,498 and 2,160 parts of jade-suits, both made up of a number of component parts and now reconstituted. The pieces were of square, rectangular, trapezoid and triangular shapes, being drilled at the edges and sewn together with gold thread. In some cases the pieces were marked with numbers. Several jade discs were found above the pieces of the suits and in one case there was a mouth filler. The use of gold thread varies from the prescription that silver thread should be used for those of the rank of king. — *Mancheng Report*, vol. I, pp. 36–7, 244–5; vol. II, Plates 166, 167; Colour Plates I, II, XIX, XX; for the seal of Dou Wan, see p. 275; for the component parts of the suits, see *KG* 1972.2, 41, 43; for numbered pieces and the system of jointure see Plate XII; *SJ* 59, 2099, Takigawa 59, p. 12; *HS* 53, p. 2422, *HSBZ* 53.10a; see Figure 3 below

B 13 Shizhai shan 石寨山, Jinning 晉寧, Yunnan (Former Han commandery of Yizhou 益州) Sixty-six pieces of a jade-suit, of varying shapes, with some verdigris and drilled, were found in tomb no. 6 at the site where a seal engraved for the king of Dian 滇, presumably in 109 or 108 BC, was also found. — *Shizhai shan Report* p. 123 and Plate 113.9

B 14 Tomb no. 1 Yangjia shan 楊家山, Changsha 長沙, Hunan (Former Han kingdom of Changsha) Sixteen fragments of a jade-suit of varying shapes, some drilled, were included in this rectangular pit-tomb. The presence of *ban liang* 半兩 coins

and the types of ceramic vessels suggest a date towards the middle of Former Han. Layers of charcoal were included, presumably in an attempt at preservation. — *KG* 1959.12, 649–52

B 15 Langcun 郎村, Handan 邯鄲, Hebei (in the Former Han commandery of Julu 鉅鹿) A large number of pieces of varying shapes and sizes, with some verdigris, drilled, were found in a tomb at this site, together with a seal engraved Liu Ande 劉安德, Noble of Xiangshi 象氏 from 108 to 81 BC. — *WW* 1958.11, 52; *KG* 1972.2, 48; *SJ* 21, 1095, Takigawa 21, p. 31; *HS* 15A, 457; for the reading of Ande as Anyi 安意, see *HSBZ* 15A, 33a note and Loewe, 'The Physician Chunyu Yi and his Historical Background', pp. 310–1

B 16 and 17 Tombs 1 and 2, Shiqiao 石橋 Xuzhou 徐州 Jiangsu (Former Han kingdom of Chu 楚) Tomb no. 1, which was multi-chambered, was robbed, probably during the Yuan period. Two pieces of a jade-suit, drilled with holes at the corners, were among the objects found nearby, on inspection of damage caused by flooding (1955). Tomb no. 2 included a number of bronze vessels which were inscribed Ming guang gong 明光宮, evidently showing that they had been used in the palace of that name which was built from 101 BC. As at Mancheng, the tombs were dug into a cliff-face; the style of the bronze vessels suggests that they were not later than the reign of Xuandi (74–48 BC). Tomb no. 1 may be identified as that of a man, probably one of the kings of Chu, no. 2 as that of his wife or a secondary consort. It has been suggested that the occupant was Liu Yanshou 劉延壽 (1), king of Chu from 100 BC, who committed suicide after involvement in a dynastic plot in 68. — *WW* 1984.11, 22–40; 1998.8, p. 31; *HS* 36, p. 1925; *HSBZ* 36.3b

B 18 Tomb no. 2, Shenju shan 神居山, Gaoyou 高郵, Yangzhou 揚州, Jiangsu (Former Han kingdom of Guangling 廣陵) included a jade-suit. Tombs nos. 1 and 2 are identified as those of Liu Xu 劉胥 (2), king of Guangling from 117 to 54 BC, and his queen; see under *ticou* F 16 and 17. — *Wenwu kaogu gongzuo shi nian*, pp. 109–10; *Wenbo tongxun* (1980) 32, pp. 36–8 (where the site is named as Gaoyou Tianshan yi hao Han mu 高郵天山一號漢墓)

B 19 Jiulong shan 九龍山, Qufu 曲阜, Shandong (Former Han kingdom of Lu 魯) Of four large multi-chambered tombs that had all been robbed, the rear chamber of no. 3 included fragments of a jade-suit (quantity unstated) bound by silver thread. The tomb also included fourteen coins of *ban liang* 半兩 type (Qin and Han) and 181 *wu shu* 五銖 coins. Copper seals support the view that the tomb was that of a king and its situation suggests a king of Lu. The engraving Qingji 慶忌 on one seal may serve to identify the tomb as that of Liu Qingji 劉慶忌 (3), who reigned from 88 to 51 BC, but the identification, accepted by Yu Weichao, has been brought into question. — *WW* 1972.5, 39–43, 54; *KG* 1981.4, 336–8; 1989.10, 63; *Wenwu kaogu gongzuo sanshi nian*, pp. 193–4; Yu Weichao, p. 336; *HS* 53, p. 2413, *HSBZ* 53.4a

B 20 Xingtai 邢台 Hebei (probably Former Han commandery of Julu 鉅鹿) 200

fragments of a jade-suit, of which perhaps one half were carved with a floriate and some with cloud pattern decor, drilled, were found in a tomb in the southern suburbs of Xingtai, together with a seal engraved Liu Qian 劉遷. The style of some of the items found there dates the tomb at the later part of Former Han; the occupant is likely to have been Liu Qian 劉遷 (3), Noble of Nanqu 南曲 from 81 to 51 BC. It is possible that some details of the tomb exceeded the prescriptions of Later Han times. — *KG* 1980.5, 403–5, Plate VI 1,4; *HS* 15B, p. 485; *HSBZ* 15B.3b

B 21 Tomb no. 1, Dabaotai 大葆台, Beijing (Former Han kingdom of Yan 燕 until 80 BC; commandery of Guangyang 廣陽 80–73 BC; kingdom of Guangyang 73 BC until the time of Wang Mang 王莽) Two pieces of a jade-suit were found in this tomb, parts of which had been sealed against decay by the insertion of layers of charcoal and white sticky clay (*bai gaoni* 白膏泥) in the building. It has been probably identified as that of Liu Jian 劉建 (8), king of Guangyang from 73 to 44 BC. — *Dabaotai Report* p. 47, Plate 50; *Han shu* 14, p. 419; 63, p. 2759, *HSBZ* 63.14a; see below under *ticou* F 15

B 22 Tomb no. 1 Xucungang 許村崗, Qixian 杞縣 Henan (Former Han commandery of Chenliu) This wooden chambered pit tomb included one fragment of a jade-suit and 300 *wu shu* 五銖 coins. An inscription on a piece of gilded lacquer ware mentions the date of 8 BC. The structure of the tomb and the types of coins and artifacts suggests that the tomb should be dated in the later part of Former Han and that the occupant had been a noble. Prior to the excavation, a further twenty pieces of a jade-suit had been found very close to the tomb. Though stated to have been within the Han kingdom of Huaiyang, the site appears to have been within the commandery of Chenliu. — *KG* 2000.1, 38

B 23 Tomb no. 40 Dingxian 定縣, Hebei (Former Han kingdom of Zhongshan 中山) 1,203 pieces of a gold threaded jade-suit, of variable shapes, were found in this multi-chambered tomb, which was built with a *huang chang ticou* 黃腸題湊 and *pian fang* 便房. The suit had been made up, evidently to measure, from a number of component parts, and there are indications that it had been provided from the central authorities of the court. One of the many strips found in the tomb refers to the date of 56 BC. It was at first identified as the tomb of Liu Xiu 劉脩 (2) who reigned as king of Zhongshan from 69 to 54 BC, but it is perhaps more likely that it was that of Liu Xing 劉興 (2), who reigned from 23 to 8 or 7 BC. — *WW* 1976.7, 57–9; 1981.8, 1–10; *HS* 80, p. 3327, *HSBZ* 80.10a; for the suit as found and as reconstituted, see *WW* 1976.7, p. 58 Figure 2, and Plate 4; for the system of jointure, which was used uniformly, see *WW* 1976.7, pp. 58–9; Yu Weichao (p. 336) supports the identification as the tomb of Liu Xiu (2)

B 24 Ganquan shan 甘泉山, Yangzhou 揚州, Jiangsu (Former Han kingdom of Guangling) A large wooden tomb included a seal inscribed 'Qie Mo shu' 妾莫書. In addition, there were nearly 600 pieces of a material described as tiled or glazed (*liuli* 琉璃), shaped and sized like fragments of jade-suits seen at other sites, together with

some that were circular. Some of the pieces carried a decorative pattern; some were drilled, and there were traces of rust and of copper. There were also nearly 100 *wu shu* 五銖 coins of the types that were minted during the reigns of Wudi and Zhaodi, and other items were comparable with those found at Dabaotai 大葆台 and contemporary sites. The tomb is datable to the period from Yuandi to Pingdi. According to one account, the tomb included nearly 1,000 fragments of a jade-suit, bound together by copper thread. In a special study of these finds, Cheng Zhuhai and Zhou Changyuan write that the pieces were 'clearly made of glass, and we have named it *glass fabric*'. The site lay within the kingdom of Guangling from 117 BC until the time of Wang Mang 王莽, except for the years 54–47 BC when it was administered as a commandery. Other finds in the vicinity identify the area as one where members of the imperial family were buried and the tomb of Qie Mo shu is thought to have been thus associated. — *Wenwu kaogu gongzuo sanshi nian*, p. 205; *WW* 1980.12, 1–6; *WW* 1989.10, 62; Brill and Martin, p. 21

B 25 Tomb no. 4, Zhang jia zhong gu 張家仲固, Wulian xian 五蓮縣, Shandong (Former Han commandery of Langye 琅邪) Of the four pit tombs at this site, M 4 included 150 pieces of a jade-suit, of rectangular, trapezoid, triangular and circular shape. Some of the pieces were drilled, some bore decoration. It is thought possible that the surviving pieces were parts of a face-mask; the artifacts suggest dating to the middle or later parts of Former Han. In addition to a few *wu shu* 五銖 coins, the tomb included a bronze seal engraved Liu Zu si yin 劉祖私印.

The only man known to be named Liu Zu succeeded as noble of Dongchang 東昌 at an unknown date, three generations after 70 BC, and was subsequently deprived of his nobility. Identification of M 4 as his tomb can hardly be sustained, as this was sited at 119° 10' E, 35° 40' N, within the Han commandery of Langye; the nobility of Dongchang was sited at 115° 55' E, 37° 55' N, within the Former Han kingdom of Guangchuan (155–50 BC), Guangchuan commandery (50–37 BC), and then Xindu kingdom (37–23 BC). It would also seem unlikely that use of a jade-suit would be permitted for a former noble who had been deprived of his status, presumably owing to criminal or at least questionable activities. It is suggested that the four tombs of the site may have had some association with the city and nobility of Zhequan 折泉 (119° 10' E, 35° 45' N); this was held by Liu Gen 劉根 (2) from 41 until an unknown date, and subsequently by Liu Xu 劉翽 (1). — *WW* 1987.9, 76–83; *HS* 15B, pp. 487, 500; 28A, p. 1586; 28B, p. 1633; *HSBZ* 28A(3).8b; 28B(2).23a

B 26 Liu Lou 劉樓 school, Suining 睢寧, Jiangsu (Later Han kingdom of Xiapi 下邳) The 140 pieces of a jade-suit found in this brick built tomb, which was that of a child aged about six years, were rectangular, square, triangular and trapezoid, and they were drilled. In addition to those pieces with traces of copper threading, two bore signs of silver threading, thus possibly suggesting the existence of two suits. Some of the pieces may be identified as forming parts of the sole of a shoe, three being linked together. The tomb, one of whose bricks bore the inscription Sikong 司空, can probably be dated to the early part of Later Han and its occupant may have

been associated with the family of the kingdom of Xiapi, which existed from AD 72 to 206. — *Wenwu ziliao congban* 4 (1981), 112–5

B 27 Shijia zhuang 石家莊 Hebei (Later Han kingdom of Changshan 常山) Seventy-six square and rectangular pieces of a jade-suit, drilled with some remnants of thread, together with eighteen *wu shu* 五銖 coins were found in this multi-chambered tomb, which is judged to date from the early part of Later Han. — *KG* 1984.9, 810–2, 848

B 28 Jiunü dun 九女墩, Suining 睢寧, Jiangsu (Later Han kingdom of Xiapi 下邳) 229 fragments of a jade-suit, with traces of copper thread, and drilled, were found in this multi-chambered tomb which included carvings of markedly Later Han style and forty *wu shu* 五銖 coins. It is said that 100 or more fragments were found in addition to those that were reported. Should the tomb have been that of one of the kings of Xiapi, the possibilities would be Liu Yan 劉衍 (reigned AD 72–125); Liu Cheng 劉成 (125–127); Liu Yi 劉意 (127–184); and Liu Yi 劉宜 (184–206). However, the use of copper thread perhaps suggests that it was the tomb of a noble rather than one of the kings. Of the three nobilities situated in the kingdom, those of Tong 僮 and Siwu 司吾 were situated respectively to the south-east and the north-east of Suining; that of Quyang 曲陽 is unplaced. The records of these nobles are limited to Liu Jia 劉嘉, ennobled as Tong hou in 58 and Liu Feng 劉風, ennobled as Quyang hou, probably in Guangwudi's reign. — *KG* 1955.2, 31–3; 1958.2, 57–9

B 29 Luoyang 洛陽, Henan (Later Han commandery of Henan 河南) Several hundred fragments of a jade-suit, of various shapes and drilled, with copper thread, are reported for a multi-chambered brick tomb dated at the middle or later part of Later Han. The tomb also yielded a kneeling figure (bronze with gilt) of a winged immortal whose hands clasped a partly circular and partly rectangular, hollow, tubular container. — *Zhongguo wenwu bao* 1988.3, 11; a full archaeological report is not available to the present writer; Rawson, *Mysteries of Ancient China*, p. 176

B 30 Lixian 蠡縣, Hebei (Later Han kingdom of Zhongshan 中山) This multi-chambered tomb included sixty-five *wu shu* 五銖 coins and 222 pieces of various shapes of a jade-suit with traces of copper thread. Dated to the middle or later parts of Later Han, the tomb is thought to be of a person who was associated with the one of the nobles of Liwu 蠡吾. The three known nobles were Liu Yi 劉翼 (from AD 130 to an unknown date), Liu Zhi 劉志 (from an unknown date to 146, when he acceded as Huandi) and Liu Kui 劉惔 (presumably from 146; promoted king of Bohai 147). — *WW* 1983.6, 45–52; for the different shapes of the fragments, see p. 51, Fig. 26

B 31 Wang ling shan 王陵山, Dongping xian 東平縣, Shandong (Later Han kingdom of Dongping 東平) 1,647 or more pieces, of rectangular, square, trapezoid, and other shapes, drilled at the corners or edges with surviving copper thread or copper

rust, were found in one of nine tombs at this site, this one being multi-chambered. In addition there were found two fragments of jade, evidently used as eye shades, and 226 *wu shu* 五銖 coins. The style of ceramic objects and type of the coins indicate dating in the middle or later parts of Later Han, and it is suggested, thanks to a passage in one of the local histories, that the occupant may have been a high ranking person or princess who was associated with Liu Cang 劉蒼, king of Dongping (nominated AD 39; died 83). — KG 1966.4, 189–92; *Dongping xian zhi* 東平縣志 (1936 reprint) 2.2b and 15.11b

B 32 Beizhuang 北莊, Dingxian 定縣, Hebei (Later Han kingdom of Zhongshan) The tomb, built with a surrounding corridor, included a total of 5,169 pieces of jade and stone, possibly deriving from two jade-suits, being square, rectangular, tapered and triangular, some with drilled holes at the edges, some with traces of gilded copper thread and some inscribed Zhongshan on the reverse sides. Inscriptions on the stones, which mention place-names that were changed in AD 87 or 88, suggest the date of the tomb as between AD 56 and 88, and this suggestion corresponds with details of the tomb's construction and its contents, which are those suitable for one of the kings. Of the six kings of Zhongshan between AD 25 and 174, Liu Yan 劉焉, who reigned from 54 to 90, is the most likely occupant of the tomb, despite the occurrence on inscriptions of place names that were obsolete in that year. Possibly the use of outmoded names may suggest that construction of the tomb was put in hand before the death of its occupant. — KGXB 1964.2, 127–94; WW 1989.10, 61; for the size and structure of this tomb, see under G Huangchang stones; see Figures 1, 8 below

B 33 Tomb no. 1, Tushan 土山, Xuzhou 徐州, Jiangsu (Later Han kingdom of Pengcheng) A silver threaded jade-suit, of rectangular, drilled pieces, was found in this double-chambered tomb, which included some *Huang chang shi* 黃腸石. In a preliminary view it was identified as the tomb of a person who was associated with Liu Gong 劉恭, king of Pengcheng AD 88–117. Earlier identification as the tomb of Fan Zeng 范增 (died c. 202 BC) requires correction. — WW 1972.3, 76; *Jiangsu wenwu zonglu*, p. 32

B 34 Huaiyang 淮陽, Henan (Later Han kingdom of Chen 陳) 1,800 fragments, with silver thread, were included in a multi-chambered tomb identified as that of Liu Chong 劉崇, King of Chen 陳 (nominated AD 120, died 124). The identification is based on the inscription on a brick of the characters 安軍壽辟. — *Zhongguo wenwu bao* 中國文物報 1988.12, 16; HHS 5, pp. 231, 238; 50, p. 1669; HHSJJ 5.14b, 18a; 50.2b; full archaeological report not available to the present writer

B 35 Songzhuang 送莊, Mengjin xian 孟津縣, Henan (Later Han commandery of Henan 河南) This brick built multi-chambered tomb included thirty pieces of a jade-suit which were rectangular, square and semi-circular, and drilled, with traces of copper threading. For the stone built wall which surrounded the tomb, see G 4 below. Inscriptions on the stones mention the dates of AD 152 and 154. — *Wenwu ziliao congkan* 4 (1981), 121–4

B 36, 37 and 38 Tombs nos. 1 and 2 Dongyuan 董園, Boxian 亳縣, Anhui (Later Han kingdom of Pei) In a series of tombs thought to be of members of the Cao 曹 family, no. 1 Dongyuan, which was multi-chambered, included one silver threaded jade-suit, now reconstituted, and one copper threaded jade-suit. An inscription refers to the year AD 164. Tomb no. 2, multi-chambered, included several hundred pieces of one or possibly two jade-suits, copper-threaded, of which one has been reconstituted. Identification of the occupants is undetermined. — WW 1978.8, 32–5; fig. 19; WW 1989.10, 63 identifies the occupants of tomb no. 1 as Cao Teng 曹騰 and his consort, and of tomb no. 2 as a member of Cao Teng's family.

B 39 Tomb no. 43, Dingxian 定縣 Hebei (Later Han kingdom of Zhongshan) The rear western chamber of this multi-chambered tomb was evidently that of a male, the rear eastern chamber that of a female. A total of 1,100 pieces of jade or stone were found in the central, rear eastern and rear western chambers, being of varying shapes and drilled; black colouring indicated traces of the use of silver thread; traces of copper thread appeared elsewhere. The structure of the tomb and type of artifacts were comparable with those of tomb no. 2 Wangdu 望都 (dated AD 182). Some of the 235 *wu shu* 五銖 coins were of a type that was not minted before AD 170. The tomb may be identified as that of Liu Chang 劉暢, king of Zhongshan from 141 until 174, and his consort. — WW 1973.11, 8–20

B 40 Jining 濟寧, Shandong (Later Han kingdom of Rencheng 任城) This multi-chambered tomb, with a surrounding corridor, included fifteen pieces of a jade-suit of varying shapes, with signs of copper thread, one jade eye-shade, one jade nose stopper, one *ban liang* 半兩 and 349 *wu shu* 五銖 coins. The tomb may be dated to the later part of Later Han, and it is suggested that the occupant was a consort of either Liu Bo 劉博 or Liu Tuo 劉佗, who reigned as the kings of Rencheng respectively from AD 161 to 173, and for forty-six years from 175; or possibly of Liu Chong 劉崇 (reigned 121 to 149). — KG 1994.2, 127–34

B 41 Tomb no. 2, Wangdu 望都, Hebei (Later Han kingdom of Zhongshan 中山) 452 pieces of a jade-suit, being square, rectangular and triangular, and drilled at corners, with traces of copper thread were found in this tomb, together with 597 *wu shu* 五銖 coins. An inscribed contract for the purchase of land permits dating at AD 182. It is suggested that the occupant was a member of the imperial family of Liu. — *Wangdu er hao Han mu*

B 42 Wuji xian 無極縣, Hebei (Former and Later Han kingdom of Zhongshan 中山) An unstated number of fragments of a jade-suit were found in one of the tombs believed to have been made for members of the Zhen 甄 family. The tomb included the text of the contract for the purchase of land which names Zhen Qian 甄謙 and whose style is similar to that of the contract found in tomb no. 2, Wangdu 望都 and is dated AD 182. — WW 1959.1, 44–6

B 43 Dongguan 東關, Luoyang 洛陽, Henan (Later Han Henan) This multi-

chambered tomb included bricks which were inscribed with details of linear measurements, presumably for the purposes of placement. There were 42 pieces of a jade-suit, square, rectangular and tapered, drilled at the corners, in one case with sixteen holes. Up to ten attendants had been immolated for burial at the site, which is dated in the later part of Later Han. — *WW* 1973.2, 55–62

Literary evidence

While a few passages in literature refer to the use of 'fish-scale treatment' (*lin shi* 鱗施) in Han times, or slightly earlier, the expression need not necessarily imply the complete enclosure of a body in a case or suit made of pieces of jade that had been sewn together. As observed above the terms *yu yi* or *yu xia* are not seen in earlier writings. The first dated mention of a jade-suit proper is for that of Huo Guang 霍光 in 68 BC; the latest datable reference, in Han times, is that related for Zhao Zhong 趙忠 in AD 153 (B 57). Some passages refer to their use outside the Han empire by the kings of the Fuyu 夫餘 peoples, and to the discovery after AD 237 of a complete suit that had evidently been intended for that purpose.

These references, which are narrative, prescriptive or explanatory bear out the principle that burial in a jade-suit was reserved for members of the imperial family and granted to others, who were special favourites, only by way of privilege. These included Huo Guang, Dong Xian 董賢 (2), Geng Bing 耿秉, Liang Song 梁竦 and Liang Shang 梁商. Unauthorised use could be subject to legal action, but at least one writer (Wang Fu 王符; c. 90–165) protested against the fairly general and extravagant practice that was current of using the suits for the burial of notable persons. In one case drastic action was taken to remove a jade-suit in which an imperial consort (Fu Taihou 傅太后) had been buried; her family had fallen foul of the reigning authority after her death.

Regulations discriminated between different styles of suit on an hierarchical basis. Permission for their use was sometimes accompanied by that for a jade mouth filler and an embellished coffin, such luxuries being provided from a craftsmens' office that was subordinated to the Superintendent of the Lesser Treasury (*Shaofu* 少府) and known as the Dong yuan 東園. Two reasons were adduced to deprecate the use of jade-suits. Some writers were highly sceptical of a belief in their ability to preserve a corpse from decomposition; others pointed to the danger of robbery to which their use would lead, thereby involving desecration of a tomb, as is mentioned on several occasions. At least three cases (Deng Hong 鄧弘, Liang Shang and Cao Pi 曹丕) record an express refusal for burial in this fashion; in one of these (Liang Shang) such wishes were not respected.

In the following passages the term jade-suit is used to render both *yu yi* 玉衣 and *yu xia* 玉匣, 柩, which could perhaps be better rendered as 'case' or 'shell'.

B 44 The provision of mouth fillers (*han zhu* 含珠) and 'fish-scale treatment' (*lin shi* 鱗施) are cited as an example of extravagance in funerals, deplorably prevalent at the time of writing. — *Lü shi chunqiu* 10 ('Jiesang' 節喪), p. 525

B 45 The use of mouth fillers and 'fish-scale treatment' is regarded as an extravagant luxury which brings about poverty but is of no advantage to a rotting body. — *HNZ* 11.10a and 12.29b

B 46 A jade-suit is included in the items provided at imperial orders for the funeral of Huo Guang 霍光, died 68 BC. The type of thread to be used is not specified. — *HS* 68, p. 2948; *HSBZ* 68.11b

B 47 In AD 5 Wang Mang 王莽 had the tomb of Yuandi's Empress Fu (Fu Taihou 傅太后, also known as Fu Zhaoyi 傅詔儀; died in 2 BC) opened up. After recovery of the jade-suit and her seals of office she was reburied in the style of a commoner. — *Lun heng* 21 (63 'Si wei' 死偽), p. 905; *HS* 97B, p. 4003, *HSBZ* 97B.19a does not mention the jade-suit

B 48 A jade-suit was among the gifts and privileges which Aidi (reigned 7 to 1 BC) bestowed on his favourite Dong Xian 董賢 (2). Deprived of his imperial patronage, Dong Xian committed suicide shortly after Aidi's death. — *HS* 93, p. 3734; *HSBZ* 93.9a

B 49 It was alleged that after the death of Dong Xian (2) his father Dong Gong 董恭 and others had burial arrangements made which included the use of a jade-suit, together with a highly embellished coffin. Dong Xian was buried in secret — *HS* 93, p. 3740; *HSBZ* 93.12b

B 50 The outrages and acts of violence committed by the Red Eyebrows c. AD 26, probably under the leadership of Liu Penzi 劉盆子, included the desecration of graves. The report of these activities adds that the bodies found in jade-suits were like those of the living. — *HHS* 11, p. 484; *HHSJJ* 11.13a

B 51 In AD 91 Hedi conferred a red coffin and a jade-suit on Geng Bing 耿秉, in recognition of his distinguished military services. — *HHS* 19, p. 718; *HHSJJ* 19.12a

B 52 A decree ordered that posthumous honours should be bestowed on Liang Song 梁竦 as father of the Empress Dowager. He had died in Hanyang 漢陽 prison and he was brought to Luoyang where he was provided with an embellished coffin and a jade-suit from the Dong yuan 東園. Liang Song had been put to death to satisfy the ambitions of another family in AD 83 and the decree of rehabilitation was dated after AD 97. — *HHS* 34, p. 1174; *HHSJJ* 34.7a

B 53 The Empress Dowager Deng 鄧 bestowed the red sash of a princess, equipment made by the Dong yuan 東園 and a jade-suit on the Grand Empress Dowager Xinye jun 新野君, who died in AD 111. — *HHS* 10A, p. 424; *HHSJJ* 10A.19a

B 54 A member of the family of the Empress Dowager Deng 鄧, Deng Hong 鄧弘 died in AD 125 leaving instructions that he should not be buried in a jade-suit or other finery; his wish was respected. — *HHS* 16, p. 615; *HHSJJ* 16.13b

B 55 Falling ill, Liang Shang 梁商 gave specific instructions to his son Liang Ji 梁冀 for a simple funeral, pointing out that a jade-suit, mouth filler and fineries were of no benefit to a corpse. He died in AD 141. His wishes overruled, he was buried with equipment from the Dong yuan 東園, which included a jade-suit with silver thread, in a barricade style tomb. — *HHS* 34, p. 1177; *HHSJJ* 34.9a

B 56 Huandi's mother, entitled Boyuan Guiren 博園貴人 and then Xiao Chong Huanghou 孝崇皇后, died in AD 152. The funeral arrangements included a painted coffin of catalpa wood, a jade-suit and a mouth filler, provided from the Dong yuan 東園 — *HHS* 10B, p. 442; *HHSJJ* 10B.5a

B 57 In AD 153 a eunuch named Zhao Zhong 趙忠 had clandestinely made preparations for his father's funeral, including the provision of a jade-suit. Thanks to the severity of Zhu Mu 朱穆, Regional Inspector (*Cishi* 刺史) of Jizhou, he then faced legal processes. — *HHS* 43, p. 1470; *HHSJJ* 43.10b

B 58 Jade-suits were used for the burial of the kings of the Fuyu 夫餘 peoples, and the Han court regularly delivered these to Xuantu 玄菟 commandery in advance of the time when they would be required, to be used at a king's death. — *HHS* 85, p. 2811; *HHSJJ* 85.4a

B 59 A valedictory rescript of AD 222 ordered that Wei Wendi (Cao Pi 曹丕) should not be buried in a jade-suit, and pointed out that the burial of treasure in tombs leads to desecration and robbery. The tone of the decree rejects the idea of the preservative qualities of a jade-suit. — *SGZ* 2, pp. 81–2

B 60 Following the passage cited under B 58 above, the *San guo zhi* adds that at the execution of Gongsun Yuan 公孫淵 there remained one assemblage of a jade-suit in the store rooms of Xuantu. Gongsun Yuan had established himself as king of Yan 燕 in AD 237, to be put to death in the following year. — *SGZ* 30, p. 842

B 61 At the death of an emperor the preparations for burial included the provision of gold thread, a jade-suit and mouth fillers (*fan* 飯 and *han* 含). — *HHS* (treatise) 6, p. 3141; *HHSJJ* (tr.) 6.2a

B 62 Jade-suits with silver thread were provided at the death of nobles, certain types of imperial consort and imperial princess; copper thread was provided for other types of consort and princess. — *HHS* (treatise) 6, p. 3152; *HHSJJ* (tr.) 6.10b

B 63 In his protest against the extravagances of his own time, Wang Fu 王符 (c. 90–165) named the use of jade-suits in burials, together with that of choice and expensive timber for coffins, such being the practice for persons of high rank in the capital city or for leading men of strength and influence in the provinces. — *HHS* 49, p. 1637; *HHSJJ* 49.6b; *Qian fu lun* 潜夫論 (12 'Fou chi' 浮侈), p. 137

B 64 Jade-suits were always used for imperial funerals, being of the form of armour with the pieces sewn together with gold thread. The upper surface of Wudi's suit was engraved with the patterns of dragon, phoenix, turtle and deer, being generally described as *Jiao long yu xia* 蛟龍玉匣. — *Xi jing za ji* 1.4a; for the credibility of this account, with reference to the material finds of B 20 and B 24 above, see KG 1981.1, 56–7

B 65 There is one example of the use of slender pieces of jade to form a suit for purposes that were entirely different from those considered hitherto. Dong Zhuo 董卓 (died AD 192) is said to have given a suit of armour, formed of jade, to his seven year old grandson. — *HHSJJ* 72.8a note and *TPYL* 356.1b cite from a passage in an independent biography of Dong Zhuo (*Dong Zhuo [bie] zhuan* 董卓[別]傳

B 66 A jade-suit is said to have been found in a tomb which was discovered south of Linzi 臨淄 c. AD 312 and identified as that of Qi Huan Gong 齊桓公 (reigned 685–643 BC). — *SJ* 32, p. 1495, 62, p. 2136, *HHS* 65, p. 2144, *HHSJJ* 65.11a notes attribute this statement to the *Kuo di zhi* 括地志 (compiled at the instigation of Li Tai 李泰 and presented to the throne in AD 642; see McMullen, p. 172) and *Ye zhong ji* 鄴中記, attributed to Lu Hui 陸翹 (Jin period), with later additions. For the unreliability of these reports, see KG 1981.1, 54

B 67 Shortly before AD 559 a tomb in Huozhou 霍州 which was said to be that of a daughter of Chu Yi Wang 楚夷王, (i.e. Liu Yingke 劉郢客 [1], reigned 179 to 175 BC) was opened. The body was not decomposed and there was a jade-suit. — *Bei shi* 7, p. 263

B 68 In a memorial submitted on the death of Tang Gaozu (AD 626), Yu Shinan 虞世南 referred to the removal of jade-suits from the desecrated tombs of the Han period. — *Jiu Tang shu* 72, p. 2569; *Xin Tang shu* 102, p. 3972

B 69 Commentators to passages in the *Han shu* and *Hou Han shu* draw on a single explanation of the terms *yu i* and *yu xia* which appears in slightly different and not always complete versions. It is attributed variously to the *Han yi zhu* 漢儀注 and more usually to the *Han jiu yi* 漢舊儀 and it is not possible to determine the form in which the explanation originated or the date when it was written. Of these texts, the *Han yi zhu* is first ascribed to Shusun Tong 叔孫通 (fl. 195 BC) who is stated to have established the correct procedures for the burial of an emperor. Such a text was perhaps incorporated into a work of 150 *pian* 篇 that was compiled by Cao Bao 曹褒, as ordered by a decree of AD 87. The *Han jiu yi* has been ascribed, with some doubt, to Wei Hong 衛宏 (first century AD). Consideration of the various versions of the explanation leads to the following rendering:

A jacket [*ru* 襦] made with jade, in appearance like armour, connected with thread made of gold; below the waist jade was used to make boards [*zha* 札], 1 foot in length, by 2.5 [or 1.5] inches, forming a case; the parts extending to the feet were likewise sewn with gold thread.

— *HS* 68, p. 2949, 93, p. 3734; *HSBZ* 68.11b, 93.9a; *HHS* 10B, p. 442, 11, p. 484; *HHS* (tr.) 6, p. 3142; *HHSJJ* 10B.5b, 11.13a; *HHSJJ* (tr.) 6.2a; *Han jiu yi bu yi* 漢舊儀補遺 B.6b (*SBBY* ed.); *Tong dian* 79 ('Li' 禮 39).

C Mouth fillers

The terms *fan* 飯, *han* 含 (or 哈) or *fan han* do not appear in the *Han shu*'s account of the funeral arrangements for Huo Guang, but the *Han ji* reads *yu han* 玉含 in place of *yu yi* 玉衣. They are coupled with permission for burial in a jade-suit in several instances (see B 55, B56 and B 61 above) and they are seen in references dating from the time of Xun Qing 荀卿 (died c. 238 BC) to Later Han. *Fan* is not seen in the *Zuo zhuan*. Although the term is sometimes taken as a binome that denotes one action, it is clear that the two graphs were not synonymous or homophonous⁵⁶ and that two actions were included: (a) *fan* 'feeding', which denoted inserting grains or jade into the mouth or other parts of a corpse, as a demonstration of service as if to the living; and (b) *han*, defined as *kou shi* 口實 'a filling-up of the mouth' i.e., a final closure or sealing of the mouth. As might be expected the textual references reflect an hierarchical discrimination, according to social distinctions. At least one reference (C 12 below) shows that these rites could also be made available at lower levels of society.

C 1 The distinction between the two actions, the one being that of filling the mouth with food, as for a living person, and the other that of closure, is clear from a passage in the *Xunzi*. — *Xunzi* (*SBBY* ed.) 13 (19 'Li lun' 禮論) 10b; Liang Qixiong, p. 267; Knoblock, vol. III, p. 67

C 2 In one passage the *Li ji* mentions the use of rice or shells for the purpose of *fan*; in another it prescribes the use of shells, with different quantities according to rank, i.e. nine for the Son of Heaven, seven for the noblemen (*Zhuhou* 諸侯), five for the counsellors (*Dafu* 大夫) and three for the professional officials (*Shi* 士). — *Li ji* 9 ('Tan gong' 檀公 B).11b; and 43 ('Zaji' 雜技).3a,b

C 3 Rice and cooked grains are used for *fan*. Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (AD 127–200) gives variations for the materials used, according to rank, to the extent of four *sheng* 升 (the *sheng* of Han times amounted to 199.687 cubic centimetres). — *Zhou li* 16.21a note

C 4 The comment to a passage which refers to the supply of jade for *fan* and *han* explains that jade was crushed and mixed with rice (*mi* 米) for the *han*, and that a jade column (*zhu* 柱) was used for the *han*. — *Zhou li* 20.24b

C 5 A note to the expression *fan han zhu yu ru li* 飯哈珠玉如禮 cites from the lost *Li [wei] ji ming zheng* 禮[緯]稽命徵 which gives the following distinctions:

⁵⁶ See Karlgren, *Grammata Serica Recensa*, 262 and 651.

	For <i>fan</i>	For <i>han</i>
The Son of Heaven	pearls	jade 璧, 碧
<i>Zhuhou</i>	pearls	pearls [or <i>bi</i> 璧, 碧]
<i>Qing</i> 卿 <i>Dafu</i> 大夫 and <i>Shi</i> 士	pearls	shells

— *HHS* (treatise) 6, p. 3141–2; *HHSJJ* (tr.) 6. 2a; as in C 13 below, the titles and ranks are those of pre-imperial rather than imperial times.

C 6 A fragment of the *Han jiu yi* 漢舊儀 notes that at the death of an emperor the mouth is closed by means of *han* 含. — *Han jiu yi bu yi* B.6b; *Tong dian* 79.3a

C 7 Filling the mouth with pearls (*han zhu* 含珠) is mentioned together with fish-scale application in the well-known protest against expensive funerals. — *Lü shi chunqiu* 10 ('Jiesang'), 節喪, p. 525

C 8 An account of an incident that is perhaps fictional rather than historical notes how high-ranking officials of Zou 鄒 and Lu 魯 did not acquire *fan* and *han* treatment. — *Zhan guo ce* 20 ('Zhao' 趙 3).9b

C 9 *Han zhu* 含珠 is likewise mentioned together with fish-scale application in the *Huainanzi*. — *HNZ* 11.10a and 12.29b

C 10 Shells and jade are explained as *han* 含. — *Gu liang zhuan* 1.6a, *Zuo zhuan* 2.10b (Yin Gong first year, 722 BC)

C 11 *Han* is defined as 'filling the mouth' *kou shi* 口實. — *Gong yang zhuan* 13.10a, *Zuo zhuan* 19A.2a (Wen Gong fifth year, 622 BC)

C 12 In the care that he took to provide for the funeral of a member of an impoverished family, Yuan She 原涉 (c. AD 13) contrived to include the needs of the *fan* and *han*. — *HS* 92, p. 3716; *HSBZ* 92.12b

C 13 The differences of grade are maintained in the *han* ritual by the use of jade for the Son of Heaven, pearls for *Zhuhou*, rice for the *Dafu* and shells for the *Shi*. — *Bo hu tong* B.66b; Tjan Tjoe Som, pp. 642–3

C 14 Ding Hong 丁鴻 (died AD 94) disclaimed the honour of the *fan* and *han* rites. — *HHS* 37, p. 1263; *HHSJJ* 37.9b

C 15 Liang Shang 梁商 (died AD 141) argued that *fan* and *han* rites were valueless and asked that he should be buried without them. — *HHS* 34, p. 1177; *HHSJJ* 34.9a

C 16 The equipment needed for *fan* and *han* was included in the provisions for

the funeral of Huandi's mother, who died in AD 152. — *HHS* 10B, p. 442; *HHSJJ* 10b.5a

C 17 Pearls and jade for *fan* and *han* were included among the special gifts for the funeral of Yuan Feng 袁逢 (died c. AD 180). — *HHS* 45, p. 1523; *HHSJJ* 45.6a

C 18 Wei Wendi's rescript of AD 222 included the order not to use pearls or jade for the *fan* and *han* rites. — *SGZ* 2, p. 81

Material evidence

C 19 A sizeable stopper blocked the mouth of the Countess of Dai 馱 when her body was found in tomb no. 1 Mawangdui 馬王堆 (168 BC). — *Mawangdui Report* vol. I, p. 32; vol. II, Plate 68

C 20 The body unearthed from tomb no. 168 Fenghuang shan 鳳凰山, included one jade seal under the tongue (167 BC). — *WW* 1975.9, p. 3

C 21 Remnants of the process of *fan* were found in the surviving parts of Zhao Hu 趙胡 (Mo 昧), king of Nan Yue 南越 (122 BC). — *Nan Yue Report*, p. 155

D Zigong 梓宮 (inner coffin)

The 'catalpa palace' is taken to mean either (1) the innermost coffin of the emperor and others; or (2) the series of inner and outer coffins, which numbered as many as five or seven in certain cases, and is exemplified at Dabaotai. It is by no means always clear to which of these the term should be applied.

Supplied by the Dong yuan 東園 (see I below), the *zigong* was made of catalpa wood and decorated with lacquer. It was intended that it should last as long as possible and was sometimes termed the *Shou qi* 壽器. Citations from the *Han jiu yi* 漢舊儀 give the measurement for the *zigong* (sometimes called the *zi guan* 子棺) as 20 by 4 by 4 feet, or alternatively as 13 by 4 by 4 feet. At Dabaotai the assemblage of the five coffins, made of catalpa and other choice durable woods, measures 296 by 140 by 140 centimetres, corresponding with the latter set of measurements. — Notes to *HS* 68, p. 2949; *HSBZ* 68.11b; *HHS* 2, p. 97; 10B, p. 442; (treatise) 6, p. 3148; *HHSJJ* 2.2b; 10B.5a; tr.6.7b; *Dabaotai Report* p. 100

D 1 According to an anecdote, following the foundation of the Han empire Gaodi sent commissioners to take a coffin of catalpa with which to summon the soul (*hun* 魂) of his mother (Liu Ao 劉嫚, Zhaoling Furen 昭靈夫人 or Hou 后), who had died during the course of the campaigns. There was a red serpent in water; and after washing themselves they put it within the coffin. — *HHS* 3, p. 158; *HHSJJ* 3.17b note, citing from *Chenliu fengsu zhuan* 陳留風俗傳

D 2 Use of a coffin made of catalpa was granted for the funeral of Cai Mao 蔡

茂 who died while holding office as *Situ* 司徒 in AD 47. — *HHS* 26, p. 908; *HHSJJ* 26.10b

D 3 At the death of Andi (AD 125), the young boy who was to be enthroned and known as Shundi was denied the right to wait in attendance at the *zigong*, to give voice to his laments. — *HHS* 6, p. 249; *HHSJJ* 6.1b

D 4 Immediately after the death of Huandi (AD 167), while the *zigong* was still in the front audience chamber, the Empress Dou 竇 put to death Tian Sheng 田聖, his chosen favourite concubine. — *HHS* 10B, p. 446; *HHSJJ* 10B.7b

E *Pianfang* 便房

As early as the second century AD some of the commentators were deeming it right or necessary to explain the meaning of this term on its occurrence in the *Han shu*, Fu Qian 服虔 (c. AD 125–95) describing it as 藏中便坐.⁵⁷ Elsewhere it is taken to mean a structure within which the inner coffin *guan* 棺 was finally placed. This outer coffin or chamber was made of *pian* 榿 wood, whose qualities, rarity and presumably durability are testified in a number of passages, such as those in the *Mozi* and in one of Sima Xiangru's 司馬相如 (died 117 BC) writings.⁵⁸ A fragment that is cited by Ru Chun 如淳 (fl. AD 221–65) as from the *Han yi zhu* 漢儀注 includes the expression *pian guo* 榿槨, or outer coffin of *pian* wood, and the protest against extravagance that is included in the *Yan tie lun* castigates the 'middle rich' for the use of catalpa wood for the inner and *pian* wood for the outer coffin. The protest is re-iterated in Wang Fu's 王符 (c. 90–165) complaints of the same type.⁵⁹ A kind of Lauraceae, *Pian* is glossed as *qi* 杞 (willow) by Guo Pu 郭璞 (AD 276–324). It is translated as 'laurier' by Hervouet.⁶⁰

As against this understanding of 便房, Yan Shigu 顏師古 (AD 581–645) defined it as 小曲室, presumably meaning 'a small secret chamber', in the belief that Ru Chun's explanation of 便 as a type of wood was incorrect. Liu Chang 劉敞 (1019–68) refuted Yan Shigu's views, and Song Qi 宋祁 (AD 988–1061) believed that the text of his note was not correct. Chen Zhi 陳直,⁶¹ who believed that *pianfang* referred to movable objects, thought that Yan Shigu was seriously incorrect. However, on the basis of Fu Qian's note, *pian fang* (or *bian fang*) is explained as the area situated immediately after the entrance passage and in front of the inner coffin chamber, as seen in Dabaotai tomb no. 1. It is further explained as the room where a master or host received his guests.⁶²

⁵⁷ The explanations of the standard commentators will be found in *HS* 68, p. 2949, *HSBZ* 68.11b.

⁵⁸ *Mozi* 13 (50 'Gong shu' 公輸).13b (*SBCK* ed.); *SJ* 117, p. 3004, Takigawa p. 14; *HS* 57A, p. 2535; *HSBZ* 57.9a,b.

⁵⁹ *Yan tie lun* 6 (29 'San bu zu' 三不足), Wang Liqi ed. p. 353, Zhang Zhixiang 張之象 ed. 7.23b; *Qian fu lun* 潛夫論 3 (12 'Fou chi' 浮侈), p. 134 (also *HHS* 49, p. 1636; *HHSJJ* 49.6b).

⁶⁰ See Hervouet, *Le chapitre 117 du Che-ki*, p. 26, note 5.

⁶¹ Chen Zhi, *Han shu xin zheng*, p. 364.

⁶² See *WW* 1976.6, 31, where this view is supported by reference to *HHS* (tr.) 6, p. 3152, *HHSJJ* (tr.) 6.10a; it is also supported in *Dabaotai Report*, pp. 99–100.

At least one other case is recorded in which a *pian fang*, together with a *ticou* were to be provided for the funeral of a favourite, i.e. Dong Xian 董賢 (2), who died c. 1 BC.⁶³

F Ticou 題湊

Ticou indicates a wall or barricade formed by stacking large size timbers, of choice and durable woods, horizontally. In some instances the timber was specified as being cut from the fresh innermost parts of the trunk, i.e. *Huang chang* 黃腸; in others the barricade was made of *bo* 柏 (*Cupressus funebris*; hereafter rendered as 'cypress') and in some cases stone were used for the purpose. Possibly the timbers, a metre or more in length, were stacked with the heads turned inwards; possibly they were set in courses that faced each other alternately (相嚮). This whole structure was erected outside the *pianfang*, in which the inner coffin, of catalpa wood (梓棺 or 宮), had been placed.

As with *pianfang*, the term *ticou* drew explanations at an early stage.⁶⁴ Su Lin 蘇林 (fl. AD 196–227) mentions the use of the 'golden heart' (*huang xin* 黃心) of cypress for the purpose and cypress is specified in Ru Chun's citation from the *Han yi zhu*. A *ticou* of hard cypress was intended for Aidi's favourite Dong Xian (2). The mention of the use of square stones for the purpose when an emperor's tomb was involved is of considerable interest in view of the material evidence to be described below.

Passages that support the foregoing explanations will be found as follows:

F 1 Ru Chun's citation from the *Han yi zhu* is not entirely comprehensible, varying somewhat from a fragment that is cited from *Han jiu yi* (see *Han jiu yi bu yi* B.7a). The citation reads: In the centre of the tomb of the Son of Heaven is the *ming zhong* 明中, 12.4 feet high, with a perimeter of 20 feet; within is the inner coffin of catalpa, and next the outer coffin of *pian* wood and a *ticou* of the innermost parts of cypress. — HS 68, p. 2949; HSBZ 68.11b; the term *ming zhong* is also seen in a citation from the *Han jiu yi*; see the note to HHS (treatise) 6, p. 3144; HHSJJ (tr.) 6.4b

F 2 A room consisting of, or built as, a *ticou* (題湊之室) and the provision of several coffins, is included among the extravagances of the day. — *Lü shi chunqiu* 10 ('Jie sang') p. 525

F 3 An anecdote records that by way of expressing a reproof to Chu Zhuang Wang 楚莊王 (reigned 613–591 BC), who was mourning the death of his much loved horse, You Meng 優孟 sarcastically suggested that he should provide the animal with a tomb fit for a lord, including an inner coffin made of carved jade, an outer coffin made of decorated catalpa, and a *ticou* made of *pian* 梗, *feng* 楓

⁶³ HS 93, p. 3734; HSBZ 93.9a.

⁶⁴ HS 68, p. 2949; HSBZ 68.11b note.

(*Liquidambar*) and *yuzhang* (or *yu* and *zhang*) 預章 timber (*Lindera* spp.). — *SJ* 126, p. 3200, Takigawa 126, p. 6 notes; the distinction between *yu* and *zhang* as two trees is attributed to a work entitled *Huo ren* 活人. Su Lin 蘇林 (fl. AD 196–227) is cited as stating that the heads of the timbers faced inwards

F 4 A burial is described which included an outer coffin made of decorated stones, and a central part made as a *ticou*, accompanied by treasured vessels of gold and silver. — *Wu Yue chungiu* A.34b

F 5 Fresh internal timber of cypress, together with other woods, was to be provided from the three commanderies of Changshan 常山, Julu 鉅鹿 and Zhuo 涿 for the tomb of Liu Yan 劉焉, king of Zhongshan (died AD 90), but the three commanderies were unable to supply all that was needed. — *HHS* 42, p. 1450; *HHSJJ* 42.20a; for the use of stone for this purpose, see under G Huangchang stones below

F 6 Despite his instructions that he should be given a modest funeral, fresh internal timber (*Huang chang* 黃腸) was used for the tomb of Liang Shang 梁商 (died AD 141). While the use for this material is not stated, it may well have been for a *ticou*, but it is sometimes taken to be for the outer coffin. — *HHS* 34, p. 1177; *HHSJJ* 34.9b

F 7 Xiandi, last emperor of Later Han, abdicated in AD 220 and was given the title of Shanyang Gong 山陽公 at the orders of Wei Wendi. He died in AD 234 and was buried according to the rites of a Han emperor. A comment to the record of the burial cites the *Xu Han shu* 續漢書 to the effect that at an emperor's death the Court Architect (*Jiangzuo* [Da Jiang] 將作 [大匠]) had a *ticou* constructed of fresh timber (*Huang chang*) and an inner compartment of *pian* wood. — *HHS* 9, p. 391; *HHSJJ* 9.12b notes; *SGZ* (Wei) 3, p. 102

F 8 The prescriptions for the funeral of an emperor provided that square stones should be used to construct in good order (*zhi* 治) the *huang chang ticou* and the inner compartment of *pian* wood. The comment to this passage cites from the *Han jiu yi* a summarised account of the imperial tombs of Former Han. This includes the detail that Wudi's tomb included an inner coffin of catalpa and a *ticou* of fresh cypress. A further citation, from the *Han shu yin yi* 漢書音義 explains *ticou* as a structure with the heads of the timbers facing inwards as a means of consolidation. — *HHS* (treatise) 6, p. 3144; *HHSJJ* (tr.) 6.4b

F 9 The specification of the coffins to be used for the Son of Heaven includes the term *bo guo yi duan chang liu chi* 柏椁以端長六尺. Zheng Xuan 鄭玄 (AD 127–200) explains *yi duan* as *ticou*. The long comment to the passage and to Zheng Xuan's note includes the further explanation to the effect that the timbers of the outer coffin, in parallel, were piled up from the foot to the top, *ticou* meaning facing (*xiang* 嚮). The text means that the heads (*tou* 頭) of the timbers, by facing one another

(*xiang xiang* 相嚮), formed a four cornered structure (*si a* 四阿). — *Li ji* 8 ('Tan gong' 檀公).22a–23a note

F 10 A further description of the arrangements for a monarch reads: The corpse of the Son of Heaven rested in the inner coffin. This was placed on a catafalque which was decorated with dragons. Timbers were piled up. The *ticou* took the form of four columns over the outer coffin, like a roof with which to cover it, plastered throughout. — *Li ji* 45 ('Sang fu da ji' 喪服大記).18b note; cited in *Song shi* 266, p. 8943

F 11 At least one stone which was inscribed *huangchang* was used in the construction of a large dam in AD 171. — *Shui jing zhu* 7.6b and notes

For pre-imperial times, mention of a *ticou* features in the plaque (Zhaoyu tu 兆域圖) that gives the design and dimensions for the mausoleum of King Cuo 雪 of Zhongshan of c. 300 BC.⁶⁵ It is also suggested that the earliest known example may be seen in tomb no. 2, Guwei cun 固圍村, Huixian 輝縣, Henan, of one of the kings of Wei 魏.⁶⁶

Material evidence for the construction of a *ticou* in Han times has been found as follows:

F 12 Shijia zhuang 石家莊, Hebei (Qin commandery of Handan; Zhao kingdom from 210; Changshan kingdom from 206; thereafter Zhao kingdom; Zhending kingdom from 114 or 113) This is possibly the earliest example yet found of a tomb built with a *ticou* structure, the timbers facing inwards. A bronze seal read as Chang Er 長耳 was the basis for identifying the occupant as Zhang Er 張耳, who died in 202 BC. However this identification has been challenged on the grounds of the style of writing on the seal; the improbability that 長 and 張 were used interchangeably as surnames; the earlier style of some of the items, including the remnants of a mirror, which are included in the tomb and are of pre-imperial types; and reports in literature of Zhang Er's tomb at five other sites. — *KG* 1980.1, 52–5, 1981.4, 333–6; *Xin Zhongguo*, p. 443

F 13 Tomb no.1 Xiangbizui 象鼻嘴, Changsha 長沙, Hunan (Former Han kingdom of Changsha) A *ticou* surrounded the four sides of this complex tomb with its chamber that included the inner coffin. Altogether 908 timbers, of cypress, were used, measuring 1.50 to 1.70 metres in length, 0.20 to 0.30 in width and c. 0.30 metres in depth. On the basis of the style of some of the items included therein, the tomb is dated to the reigns of Wendi (180–157 BC) or Jingdi (157–141 BC). It has been tentatively identified as that of Wu Chan 吳產. (also known as Wu Zhu 吳著 or Wu Cha 吳差, king of Changsha from 178 to 157, or Liu Fa 劉發 (1), king from 155

⁶⁵ *Cuo mu Report*, p. 399.

⁶⁶ *Dabaotai Report*, p. 98 cites *Huixian Report*, pp. 86–8, Figs. 104, 105, Pl. 62.

to 127. Yu Weichao has added the possibility that it might have been the tomb of Wu Ruo 吳若 (king of Changsha from 186 to 178), or Wu Chan.

One general consideration concerns the identification of the occupant of this tomb. It may well be more likely that a tomb of this magnificence, built with the privilege of a *ticou*, would have been more suitable for a member of the imperial family of Liu 劉 than for a king of the only kingdom which, while fully integrated into the Han empire, had been vested in another family, that of Wu 吳; this honour had been due to the merits of the first king, Wu Rui 吳芮, which had been recognised during Gaodi's reign (202–195 BC).⁶⁷ That the style or some of the aspects or contents of the tomb were those of the reigns of Wendi or Jingdi need not preclude the idea of its construction somewhat later. Adoption of the latest practices may not necessarily have reached the remote area of Changsha as quickly as it had to other parts of Wudi's realm.

Liu Fa (1) was a son of Jingdi and a concubine of low grade, and it has been suggested that it was owing to her inferior status that her son was nominated (155 BC) as king of a distant and possibly insalubrious area. Whether or not Jingdi wished to banish his son in this way and for that reason may not be known, but Liu Fa received some measure of recognition towards the end of his life and after his death (127 BC) by the appointment of no less than fifteen of his sons as nobles. — KGXB 1981.1, 111–30; Yu Weichao, p. 335; see Figures 4, 5 below

F 14 Doubi shan 陡壁山, Changsha 長沙, Hunan (Former Han kingdom of Changsha) This tomb may be dated to the middle period of Former Han and was formed with a surrounding *ticou* on its four sides. The longest of the 179 surviving timbers, which faced inwards, measured 1.17 metres in length and two of the three seals found there identified the occupant as Cao Zhuan 曹嫪. She is thought to have been a consort of one of the kings of Changsha, possibly Liu Fa 劉發 (1), king from 155 to 127. Some of the timbers of the inner chamber bore numbers for positioning. — WW 1979.3, 1–16; Yu Weichao (p. 335) takes the tomb to be that of the consort of Wu Chan 吳產

F 15 Tomb no. 1 Dabaotai 大葆台, Beijing (Former Han kingdom of Yan 燕 until 80 and of Guangyang 廣陽 from 73 BC) As reconstituted this tomb for long presented the most complete and the largest example of a *ticou*, measuring 15 by 8 metres, with a height of 2.7 metres. Built of 15,880 timbers of cypress in as many as thirty courses, the structures extended in rectangular shape round the chamber where the inner coffin was placed and the area immediately after the entrance passage, identified by some scholars as the *pian fang* 便房. The majority of the timbers measure 90 by 10 or 20 cm. A few timbers carried marks for positioning. An external corridor, divided by a partition, surrounded the *ticou*, forming a depository (i.e. *wai zang guo* 外藏椁) for a large number of funerary items of ceramic, lacquer or iron. First thought to have been the tomb of Liu Dan 劉旦 (1), king of Yan from 117 to

⁶⁷ The kingdom of Nan Yue, also vested in a king who was not of the Liu family, had not been incorporated within the empire.

80 BC, it is now identified as that of Liu Jian 劉建 (8), king of Guangyang from 73 to 44 BC. — *Dabaotai Report* pp. 12–15; Figures 9–13; Plates XVIII–XXI; *WW* 1977.6, 30–3; see Figures 6, 7 below

F 16 and 17 Tombs nos. 1 and 2 Shenju shan 神居山, Gaoyou 高郵, Yangzhou 揚州, Jiangsu (Former Han kingdom of Guangling 廣陵) Tomb no. 1 is described as the most complex example of a *huang chang ticou* tomb yet unearthed (up to 1989), the structure being comparable with those at Xiangbizui 象鼻嘴 and Dabaotai 大葆台. The *ticou* measured 13 by 11 metres, with a height of 4 metres and the use of at least 850 timbers. Some of these were jointed together and there were signs of precautions against decomposition. Tomb no. 2 was also built with a *ticou*, some of whose members were inscribed with directions for positioning. No. 2 included a jade-suit with gold thread, and an inscription serves to identify the tombs as those of Liu Xu 劉胥 (2), king of Guangling from 117 to 54 BC, and his queen. — *Wenwu kaogu gongzuo shi nian*, pp. 109–10; reports in *Xinhua ribao* 30-v-1980 and 26-v-1982 (not seen by the present writer)

G Huangchang stones (see Figures 8, 9 below)

Two passages to which reference is made above⁶⁸ mention the use of stone for building a *ticou* and they are supported by material evidence of Later Han times.

As yet the tombs of the Han emperors await excavation, apart from the preliminary work that has been put in hand for Jingdi's tomb of Yangling 陽陵 and Xuandi's tomb of Duling 杜陵.⁶⁹ Of the Han tombs which have been excavated so far, few if any can match the grandeur of the one at Beizhuang 北莊, Dingxian 定縣, Hebei, in the Later Han kingdom of Zhongshan.⁷⁰ A series of integrated chambers, built of brick, had been enclosed by a wall of stone, the structure being of the same design, in principle, as that of tomb no. 1 Dabaotai 大葆台. Although the term *ticou* is not used in the reports which describe the tomb, it would be fair to identify the function of the surrounding wall as being that of the *Huangchang ticou* known elsewhere. Of the 4,000 or so stones used, measuring 1 by 1 by 0.25 metres, 174 bore inscriptions bearing the names of counties of various kingdoms and commanderies. Inscriptions on some of the bricks gave instructions for positioning them at different parts of the structure. The tomb included the largest number of pieces of jade-suits (5,169) found at a single site, possibly fit for the burial of two persons. The principal occupant of the tomb may be identified as Liu Yan 劉焉, king of Zhongshan from AD 54 until 90, whose biography includes an account of its construction.⁷¹

The steps that were taken to provide Liu Yan with a notable funeral included the grant of an inordinately high sum of money for its expenses, i.e. 100,000,000 cash, as compared with the 30,000,000 cash usually paid at the death of the first

⁶⁸ See F 4 and F 8.

⁶⁹ For information about Yangling, see note 30 above; for Duling, see *KG* 1984.10, 887–94 and 1991.12, 1071–83; and *Han Duling ling yuan yizhi*.

⁷⁰ *KGXB* 1964.2, 127–94.

⁷¹ *HHS* 42, pp. 1449–50; *HHSJJ* 42.19a–20a; for Liu Yan's life, see p. 9 above.

king of a line.⁷² The tomb was to include a *shen dao* 神道; a very large force of men was put to its construction; and a variety of choice woods, including the inner timbers of cypress, were to be collected from Changshan, Julu and Zhuo commanderies, but these were unable to meet the needs. Labourers and attendants, numbered by the thousand, were called in to help with building the tomb, being mobilised from as many as eighteen commanderies. The scale and expense of the work was without equal in any of the other kingdoms.

Whatever allowance should be made for exaggeration in this account, the material remains of the tomb bear out that it was conceived on a grand scale, and the inscriptions on some of the stones may support the statement that materials were brought from outside Zhongshan kingdom. Possibly the account implies that although the original intention had been to use choice woods, as these had not been available the tomb was built with stone.

Further evidence for the use of stone is seen in a series of rubbings of stones which are described as *Huang chang shi* 黃腸石.

G 1 The catalogue of rubbings of stones preserved in the Henan library lists thirty stones which are named *Huangchang* and are said to have been found at Pingle 平樂 village, lying east of Luoyang, in February 1924.⁷³ No reason is given there for naming these stones as *Huangchang*.

Rubbings of the inscriptions on twenty-nine of these stones are preserved in the library of the Research Institute of Humanistic Studies, Kyoto, and were available to the present writer for inspection in 1961.⁷⁴ The inscriptions, which are cut on one of the sides of the stones, include a proper name, the dimensions of the stone, a serial number, a date in terms of the year and month and the term *sheng* 省, i.e. 'inspected'. The length of the stones varied between 2.1 and 3 feet (Han), with a constant width of 3 feet and a depth of either 1.5 or 2.0 feet. The term *huangchang* does not appear. Reconstruction of these stones, where the inscription reads as follows, is attempted below (see Figure 9):

商孟石廣三尺厚尺五寸長二尺？七寸 第十四
永建三年四月省

Shang Meng stone; width 3 feet; depth 1 foot five inches; length 2 feet 7 inches; no. 14

Inspected, fourth month, Yongjian third year [AD 128]

⁷² Other examples of such grants include those of 30 million cash for Xinye jun 新野君; 40 million for Huandi's mother; 2 million plus 5 million for Liang Shang 梁商; 50,000 for Liu Kai 劉愷; 3 million for Yang Ci 楊賜; and 200,000 for Dai Ping 戴憑; HHS 10A, p. 424; 10B, p. 442; 34, p. 1177; 39, p. 1310; 54, p. 1785; 79A, p. 2554; HHSJJ 10A.19a; 10B.5b; 34.9b; 39.12a; 54.18a; 79A.7a. These sums may be compared with the figures of 60,000 and 40,000 cash that are given as the monthly incomes of the Chancellor (*Chengxiang* 丞相) and Imperial Counsellor (*Yu shi Da fu* 御史大夫) with reference to Former Han times (see the note by Ru Chun 如淳, HS 10, p. 329; HSBZ 10.15b).

⁷³ Li Genyuan and He Rizhang, *Henan tushuguan zang shi mu*; see also Yang Dianxun 楊殿珣, ed. *Shi ke ti ba suoyin* 石刻題跋索引, p. 499a.

⁷⁴ At that time these were included in Rubbings Series V.

G 2. A further series of stones of the same type, also said to have come from Luoyang, was recorded in 1929.⁷⁵

G 3 Wang Guowei 王國維 states that he once saw a stone in the possession of Duan Fang 端方 (1861–1911) which was inscribed with similar details and included the term *Huangchang*. This was dated in AD 172. He adds that he had also seen two comparable stones that were dated in AD 132 and 174.⁷⁶

G 4. The tomb at Songzhuang 送莊, Mengjin xian 孟津縣, Henan (Later Han commandery of Henan 河南), which included thirty pieces of a jade-suit, was built with a surrounding wall of stones, whose inscriptions mention the dates of AD 152 and 154. See *Wenwu ziliao congkan* 4 (1981), 121–4.

In all these examples the inscriptions carry the same type of information, given sometimes in a different order, and identification of those named in G 1 above as *Huangchang* stones would seem to be justifiable. As has been seen above in connection with other inscriptions,⁷⁷ their purpose was to provide the information needed for assembly in the right position of a structure. In addition, those inscriptions that carry the term *sheng* 省 acted as a certificate that they had been inspected and seen to comply with the specifications.

The dates recorded in the inscriptions of G 1 fall between 127 and 128, with one dated in 132 and one in 152. By way of speculation it may be asked whether they might have originated from the tomb of Han Andi, who acceded to the throne in 106 and died on 30 April 125. Although he was buried on 11 June of that year, it can hardly be expected that the whole of the tomb, Gongling 恭陵, had been completed, and an interval of several years before the final stones of the *ticou* were ready need not necessarily be excluded from consideration. There is however some inconsistency in the references to the location of his tomb. The Tang commentator's note to the record of his burial placed Gongling at 27 *li* to the north-east of Luozhou 洛州;⁷⁸ a different note, where the text may not be entirely reliable, places it to the north-west of Luoyang.⁷⁹ The stones came from east of the city.

H Waizang guo 外臧椁

The practice of providing separate pits, compartments or chambers for the disposal of funerary items may be traced back at least as far as the tomb of Zeng Hou Yi

⁷⁵ Ke Shaomin 柯劭忞, *Juzhen caotang Han Jin shi jing* 居貞草堂漢晉石景 1a; regrettably it has not been possible to check this reference.

⁷⁶ *Guan tang ji lin* 觀堂集林 18.17b–18a, in *Haining Wang Zhongque gong yi shu chu ji* 海寧甯王忠愍公遺書初集 (1927).

⁷⁷ E.g., on wood, brick or stone at Gaoyou (F 16 F 17), Doubi shan (F 14), Dabaotai (F 15) and Beizhuang (see B 32).

⁷⁸ *HHS* 5, p. 241, *HHSJJ* 5.20a.

⁷⁹ *HHS* (tr.) 6, p. 3149, *HHSJJ* (tr.) 6. 8b. Bielenstein, *Lo-yang* p. 86, locates the tomb at 3.9 miles north-west of Luoyang.

曾侯乙 (c. 433 BC). The precedents⁸⁰ from which they evolved may be seen in Shang times, in the burial of victims, or of horse and carriage, either within the main tomb or alongside, or in the 'second level ledge' (*ercengtai* 二層台)⁸¹ or in small side-chambers. Somewhat drastically developed, in the early part of Former Han different types of outer compartment or storage chamber are seen, as a large number of pits (e.g., at Yangjia wan); or as a passage within the *ticou* and surrounding the coffin chamber (as at Xiangbizui), or as pits both within the tomb and adjoining thereto (as at tomb no. 2, Luobowan 羅泊灣).⁸² These variously included items of equipment, articles of daily use and in one case human victims, with horse and carriage being separated in different compartments. By the middle or later parts of Former Han the burial of victims had in general fallen out of use.⁸³ More and more tombs were being built with small side-chambers, and the original 'outer' compartments were usually being integrated within the tomb's structure. By Later Han outer storage compartments were not being built.

The specification for Huo Guang's funeral included fifteen cases, for outer storage, made of *cong* 樅 (pine). At Dabaotai an outer compartment lay outside the *ticou*, taking the form of two surrounding corridors that were divided by an upright partition. The outer of these corridors included figurines, replacing the much earlier practice of the burial of immolated victims, and three horses. Leading to this was the approach way to the tomb which included three carriages and eleven horses. The inner corridor included, in the main, a large number of ceramic items. A surrounding corridor is also seen at Beizhuang, Dingxian. — KGXB 1981.1, pp. 116-8; 123, Figure 8; Plates XV, XVI; *Dabaotai Report*, pp. 12, 101-2, Plates XXX-XXXIV

I Dong yuan 東園

The *Dong yuan jiang* 東園匠 is included among the sixteen departments which were subordinated to the Superintendent of the Lesser Treasury (*Shaofu* 少夫), each with their own director and his assistant. This department was responsible for making the hidden, i.e. funerary, equipment (*bi qi* 秘器), including vestments, gold thread, jade-suits and lacquered coffins, as needed for imperial and other funerals and it is frequently mentioned as the *Dong yuan*. Presumably this equipment included the items that were to be deposited in the outer storage compartments.

In addition an office termed *Dong yuan zhu zhang* 東園主章 is one of seven departments that are mentioned, with their directors and assistants, as being subordinate to the Court Architect (*Jiangzuo da jiang* 將作大匠). This was responsible for the provision of the large size timber (*zhang* 章; camphor) as required. In his indictment of the extravagances of the day, Gong Yu 貢禹 (2) (fl. 44 BC) remarked on the expenditure incurred by three workshops (*san gong guan* 三工官) which were thought by Yan Shigu 顏師古 (AD 581-645) to have included the *Dong yuan*; such a

⁸⁰ See Li Rusen, 'Han dai "wai zang guo" de qiyuan yu yanbian'.

⁸¹ For the *ercengtai*, see Bagley, and Rawson, in Loewe and Shaughnessy (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Ancient China*, pp. 160, 358.

⁸² KG 1982.4, 355-64.

⁸³ Exceptionally, see B 43 above.

view was disputed by Qian Dazhao 錢大昭 (1744–1813). The account of the funeral of Later Han emperors refers to the part played by the *Dong yuan* and its staff in providing the bier and funerary items (*ming qi* 明器), and in announcing one of the occasions in the ceremony when it was fit to give voice to lamentation. In addition to the citation for Huo Guang, an imperial order granted the use of the *Dong yuan*'s equipment for the funerals of a number of favourites and others, as is shown below. — *HS* 19A, pp. 731, 733; 72, p. 3071; *HSBZ* 19A.15a, 18b; 72.10b; *HHS* 10B, p. 442; *HHS* (treatise) 6, pp. 3141, 3146–8, *HHSJJ* 10B.5a; (tr.) 6.6b–7a; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, pp. 52, 62, 81; *Lo-yang*, pp. 78–80.

I 1 For Kong Ba 孔霸 (fl. Yuandi's reign 48–33 BC). — *HS* 81, p. 3353; *HSBZ* 81.15a

I 2 Some time before the death of Dong Xian 董賢 (2), Aidi (reigned 7–1 BC) ordered the provision of these items, along with other privileges such as the construction of a large tomb with a *ticou*. — *HS* 93, p. 3754; *HSBZ* 93.9a

I 3 For Kong Guang 孔光 (died AD 5), at the instigation of Wang Mang 王莽. — *HS* 81, p. 3364; *HSBZ* 81.22a

I 4 The catalpa coffin given for the funeral of Cai Mao 蔡茂 (died AD 47) was provided by the *Dong yuan*. — *HHS* 26, p. 908; *HHSJJ* 26.10b

I 5 For Dai Ping 戴憑 (Guangwudi's reign AD 25–57). — *HHS* 79A, p. 2554; *HHSJJ* 79A.7a

I 6. For Feng Qin 馮勤 (died AD 56). — *HHS* 26, p. 911; *HHSJJ* 26.12b

I 7 A painted coffin was provided for Liang Song 梁竦, by way of posthumous rehabilitation after AD 97. — *HHS* 34, p. 1174; *HHSJJ* 34.7a

I 8 For Xinye jun 新野君, in AD 111 (see B 53) — *HHS* 10A, p. 424; *HHSJJ* 10A.19a

I 9 For Liu Kai 劉愷 (died after AD 120). — *HHS* 39, p. 1310; *HHSJJ* 39.12a

I 10 Despite his express wish for a simple funeral, the equipment of the *Dong yuan* was ordered for that of Liang Shang 梁商 (AD 141). — *HHS* 34, p. 1177; *HHSJJ* 34.9b

I 11 For the eunuch Shan Chao 單超 (after AD 159). — *HHS* 78, p. 2521; *HHSJJ* 78.10b

I 12 For Hu Guang 胡廣 (died AD 172). — *HHS* 44, p. 1511; *HHSJJ* 44.11b

- I 13 For Yang Ci 楊賜 (died AD 185). — *HHS* 54, p. 1785; *HHSJJ* 54.18a
- I 14 For Ge Xun 蓋勳 (died c. AD 190), at the proposal of Dong Zhuo 董卓 — *HHS* 58, p. 1883; *HHSJJ* 58.13b
- I 15 The equipment of the *Dong Yuan* was included in the arrangements for the reburial of Wang Yun 王允, after AD 192. — *HHS* 66, p. 2178; *HHSJJ* 66.14a

J Wenming 溫明

Wang Niansun 王念孫 (1734–1832) argues cogently that the two characters *bi qi* 秘器 have dropped out of the text of *Han shu* 68 after *wen ming*, citing the corresponding passage of the *Qian Han ji* 前漢紀 (17.7b) and a note by Li Shan 李善 (died AD 689) to a passage in the *Wen xuan* 文選,⁸⁴ where they are retained. The passage may be taken to mean the *wenming* and funerary equipment of the *Dong yuan*.

Wenming is explained by Fu Qian 服虔 (c. AD 125–95) as follows. The *Dong yuan* housed these instruments which were shaped like a square lacquered tube with one surface open, and decorated with lacquer. Mirrors were placed within for suspension over the corpse. At the major encoffining (*da lian* 大斂) they were arrayed in a row to cover it over. No comments suggest the function of the *wenming*. Possibly it was intended as an apotropaic device, taking its place as the final piece of equipment; its subsequent disposal is unknown.

The major encoffining is described in a fragment of the *Han jiu yi*.⁸⁵ The minor encoffining, at which the memorial tablet was carefully placed in a specially arranged alcove or receptacle, took place three days after an emperor's death. At the major act, seven days later (or on the seventh day), offerings were presented prior to the removal of the tablet for preservation in the shrine.

K Wenliang ju 輓輦車

Various explanations are given for the origin and meaning of this term, which denotes the carriage on to which Huo Guang's corpse was loaded. As part of the attempt to conceal the news of the death of the First Qin Emperor, his body was placed in a *wenliang ju*, at which officials presented their reports and meals were served as normally.⁸⁶ Meng Kang 孟康 (c. AD 190–260) took the term to mean two carriages used for the conveyance of clothing, either with windows closed for warmth (*wen*) or opened for ventilation (*liang*). Xue Zan 薛瓚 (fl. AD 352–86) cites Du Yannian 杜延年 (1), who died 52 BC, as proposing that the corpse of Huo Guang should be loaded on to a *liang*, to be drawn by a team of white tigers from the imperial stables; and that this should be accompanied by a *wen*, drawn by a team of white

⁸⁴ See *Wen xuan* 60, p. 1468, which carries Ren Fang 任昉. (Ren Yansheng 任彥昇 AD 460–508), *Qi Jingling Wenxuan wang xing zhuang* 齊竟陵文宣王行狀.

⁸⁵ *Han jiu yi buyi* B.6b; see also Loewe, 'The imperial way of death in Han China', p. 108.

⁸⁶ *SJ* 87, p. 2548; Takigawa 87, p. 15.

deer from the imperial stables. Yan Shigu 顏師古 (AD 581–645) explains *wenliang* as being originally a rest car, for sleeping, used later for the conveyance of a coffin; marked with a decorated placard it became a funeral carriage. The *wen* and the *liang* with their closed and open windows had originally been two separate carriages, named according to their function. Later they were used exclusively for funerals, and one was dispensed with, but the joint term was retained.

L Huang wu zuo du 黃屋左纛

The golden inner lining of the canopy and the feathered plumes mounted at the left side of a carriage were restricted for the use of sovereigns, but not allowed to the kings of the empire (*Zhuhouwang* 諸侯王) and several instances show how others who dared to flaunt these trappings were overstepping their privileges. In his deliberate attempt to deceive Xiang Yu 項羽 on behalf of Liu Bang 劉邦, king of Han (204 BC), Ji Xin 紀信 proceeded on his mission in just such a carriage, doubtless to demonstrate the force of his authority to Xiang Yu. Zhao Tuo 趙佗, king of Nan Yue 210–137 BC, Liu Chang 劉長 (1), king of Huainan 196–174 and Liu Jian 劉建 (3), king of Jiangdu 127–121 wore these honours in illicit attempts to vaunt their independence. — *HS* 1A, p. 40; 43, p. 2116; 44, p. 2141; 53, p. 2416; *HSBZ* 1A.36a; 43.9a; 44.5a; 53.6b; Dubs, *HFHD*, vol. I, p. 84 note

Other publications concern the attention paid to death and its consequences. Beliefs and hopes for immortality included a search for eternal life in the paradise of the east (c. 150 BC and earlier), a marked attempt to guide the soul to the most felicitous situation in the cosmos (as seen particularly c. 50 BC) and a faith in the blissful life of the world to come under the protection of the Queen Mother of the West (as apparent from c. AD 50).⁸⁷ Possibly an idealistic *Zhao Mu* system may have affected the choice of an appropriate site for the construction of the imperial tombs towards the end of Former Han.⁸⁸ Elaborate formalities governed the obsequies of emperors, including the services paid at their shrines, the disposition of their memorial tablets and the solemn rituals of the funeral.⁸⁹ The foregoing pages illustrate the steps taken for the preparation of the body and the ordered ways in which the tomb was constructed.

From all these considerations and from the wealth of archaeological evidence it is clear that care for the dead and burial arrangements, particularly for the highest in the land, involved very high, perhaps disproportionately high, expenditure of money and devotion of working effort. Such attention depended on the active co-operation, or obedience, of a large number of labourers; it drew on the skills of craftsmen and artists who were working at official orders; and it required the administrative powers of certain high-ranking officials. According to one statement, in Later Han times it was the general practice to grant thirty million cash and thirty

⁸⁷ See Loewe, *Ways to Paradise*.

⁸⁸ Loewe, *Divination, mythology and monarchy*, Chapter 13.

⁸⁹ Loewe, 'The imperial way of death in Han China'.

thousand bolts of cloth at the burial of sons of the emperor who had been nominated as kings, and ten million cash and ten thousand bolts of cloth to their successors.⁹⁰ Acknowledgement of these burdens and of the ensuing popular hardship that accompanied the construction of an imperial tomb is seen in the abortive project for building a mausoleum to be named Changling 昌陵 for Chengdi.⁹¹

It is likely that the Court Architect (*Jiangzuo Dajiang* 將作大匠),⁹² who was responsible for the construction of palace buildings, may also have been concerned with that of the imperial tombs; possibly corresponding officials in the kingdoms bore such duties for the tombs of the kings. At least two departments of government, the *Dong yuan* 東園 and the *Shang fang* 尚方, were responsible for providing the choice items of equipment that were needed.⁹³ For the heavy work of the construction of the tomb and its ancillary buildings, and for maintenance thereafter, it seems likely that senior officials of both the central government and the kingdoms could call on conscript servicemen. Specialist offices, with their own directors and assistants, were subordinated to the Superintendent of Ceremonial (*Taichang* 太常), for the maintenance and security of the imperial tombs.⁹⁴

Such were the expenses, effort and organisation that were required to fulfil the ambition of providing magnificent tombs for emperors, kings and others, and furnishing them with the choice items that custom demanded. There is little reason to suppose that the protests raised against such extravagance were effective but it is perhaps likely that there was less possibility to continue these practices with the same degree of intensity under the impact made by Buddhism, or in the political instability and the emergence of localised dynasties that followed the end of Han.

Major intellectual and religious changes may be traced during the four centuries that are in question, such as the assumption of the ideals of Zhou in place of the ambitions associated with Qin, the adoption of new types of state cults and the growth of a new emphasis on scholarship and the force of the written word. How far, if in any way, such developments affected the style of burials may not be known; nor can it be suggested to what extent, if any, the lavish attention paid to these tombs was affected by the intensification of government c. 130 BC, the reaction against it c. 60 BC, the emerging emphasis placed on the ideas of *Tian ming* 天命 and *Wu xing* 五行 shortly afterwards,⁹⁵ the establishment of Wang Mang's empire and the restoration of the house of Liu.

It would appear that dynastic, ritual and social implications were involved. Emperors could exploit the need to prepare tombs and to care for their deceased fathers so as to display the extent of their majesty, their close relation to their ancestors and the great gap that divided them from their social inferiors. At the same

⁹⁰ HHS 42, p. 1450; HHSJJ 42.19b.

⁹¹ Started 19 BC, abandoned 15 BC; HS 10, pp. 317, 320 and 322; HSBZ 10.9a, 11a, 12a.

⁹² HS 19A, p. 733; HSBZ 19A.18b; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, p. 80.

⁹³ Subordinated to the Superintendent of the Lesser Treasury (*Shaofu* 少府), the *Shang fang* was responsible for the provision of specially crafted items, including swords that may have been used for ritual purposes (HS 19A, p. 731; HSBZ 19A.16a,b; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, p. 52). For examples of TLV mirrors which were not supplied exclusively for the imperial family and whose inscriptions record manufacture by the *Shang fang*, see Loewe, *Ways to Paradise*, pp. 179–80, 194, 196, 198, 200.

⁹⁴ HS 19A, p. 726; HSBZ 19A.7a; Bielenstein, *Bureaucracy*, pp. 18, 21.

⁹⁵ Reasons to support this dating will be given in a forthcoming publication.

time, by granting privileged treatment to the kings, who were members of their own family, they could make a bid to retain their loyalties and enhance the coherence of the imperial clan. Rituals emphasised the continuity of their family, imposing buildings its strength. With no tombs of his own forbears to which he could point so as to achieve these ends, Wang Mang set up a series of nine great shrines perhaps for the same motive. They stood to the south of Chang'an city; they asserted his relationship to heroes of the mythical past, including Huangdi and Shun; and they traced his ancestral line down to his own father Wang Wan 王曼.⁹⁶

⁹⁶ Loewe, 'Wang Mang and his forbears', p. 207.

Appendix

(A) Tombs of the kings of Chu

In addition to the three tombs in which parts of jade-suits were found and which may be identified as those of the kings of Chu (Shizi shan, Beidong shan and Shiqiao; B 3, B 6 and B 16), four others are also identified, with varying degrees of reliability, as tombs of those kings. These are:

(1) Of a group of five tombs at Chu Wang shan 楚王山, Tongshan xian 銅山縣 (near Xuzhou), Jiangsu, no. 1 is the principal one. The *Shui jing zhu* (23.15b) refers to the tomb of Liu Jiao 劉交 (1), king of Chu from 201 to 179, at Tongxiao shan 同孝山 which is identified with this site, and there is a reference to Liu Jiao's tomb in a passage from the *Bei zheng ji* 北征記 (untraced) that is cited in the commentary to *Xu Han zhi* (tr.) 21, p. 3460; *HHSJJ* (tr.) 21.20a. — *Jiangsu wenwu zonglu*, p. 31

(2) Tomb no. 2, Guishan 龜山, Tongshan xian 銅山縣 (near Xuzhou), Jiangsu, was discovered in 1981 and is judged to be contemporary with tomb no. 1 of that site. No. 2, which was the larger of the two and was multi-chambered, was subject to robbery but the inclusion of eight *wu shu* 五銖 coins provides a *terminus a quo* of 118 BC. The tomb was at first thought to have been that of Liu Chun 劉純, who reigned from 116 to 110; but the discovery of a silver seal engraved Liu Zhu 劉注 (reigned 128 to 116) in chamber no. 6 identifies it as his. — *KGXB* 1985.1, 119–33 and 1985.3, 352

(3) Woniu shan 臥牛山. No full report is available to the present writer for this tomb which is said to have included coins of Wang Mang's 王莽 time, and to be possibly identified as that of the twelfth king, Liu Yu 劉紆, who succeeded in 2 BC. — *WW* 1998.8, p. 31; *ibid*, p. 32 note 8 cites 'Woniushan Han mu' 臥牛山漢墓 in *Lishi wenhua ming cheng* — *Xuzhou* 歷史文化名城 徐州, published by Jiefang jun wenyi chubanshe, 1991 (not available to the present writer).

(4) Dailan shan 駝籃山 *WW* 1998.8, p. 29; *ibid*. p. 32 note 5 cites 'Dailan shan Han mu' 駝籃山漢墓 in *Xuzhou shengji* 徐州勝迹 (Shanghai Renmin chubanshe, 1990); not available to the present writer.

For a report of the discovery of the tomb of a daughter of Liu Yingke 劉郢客 (1), king of Chu from 179 to 175 BC, in Huozhou 霍州, see under B 67 above.

Thus, the tombs of three of the eight kings of Chu who reigned between 201 and 68, have been identified as those of Liu Jiao (1), Liu Yanshou (1) and Liu Zhu; two others may be identified as those of Liu Wu, Liu Dao (1) or Liu Li (1). Accepted suggestions have yet to be made for identifying the tombs of Liu Yingke 劉郢客 (1) and Liu Chun 劉純.⁹⁷

⁹⁷ *KG* 2000.4, 294–5.

(B) Terms for trees

I am indebted to Professor Georges Métaillé for advice and guidance regarding the identification of the trees that are mentioned in the passages under reference here. Identification is by no means certain in all cases; and to avoid excessive pedantry I have adopted terms that are given below.

Zi 梓	<i>Catalpa ovata</i> G. Don	catalpa
Bo 柏	<i>Cupressus funebris</i> Endl.	cypress
Feng 楓	<i>Liquidambar formosana</i> Hance	<i>Liquidambar</i>
Pian 榧	<i>Ulmus macrocarpa</i> Hance (possibly akin to <i>yuzhang</i> ; see Bretschneider, pp. 347–8)	a kind of Lauraceae
Qi 杞	A generic term: <i>Salix spp</i>	willow
Cong 榿	Incorrectly identified by some as <i>Abies</i> , and not to be taken for certain as <i>Pinus massoniana</i> Lamb	pine
Zhang 樟	<i>Cinnamomum camphora</i> Nees et Eberm.	camphor
Yuzhang 豫章	A synonym for <i>zhang</i> 樟; used as a term of classification (see Bretschneider, pp. 347–8)	<i>Lindera spp.</i>

Abbreviations

<i>Cuo mu Report</i>	<i>Cuo mu — Zhanguo Zhongshan guo guo wang zhi mu</i>
<i>Dabaotai Report</i>	<i>Beijing Dabaotai Han mu</i>
<i>HHS</i>	<i>Hou Han shu</i>
<i>HHSJJ</i>	<i>Hou Han shu jijie</i>
<i>HNZ</i>	<i>Huainanzi</i>
<i>HS</i>	<i>Han shu</i>
<i>HSBZ</i>	<i>Han shu buzhu</i>
<i>Huixian Report</i>	<i>Huixian fajue baogao</i>
<i>KG</i>	<i>Kaogu</i>
<i>KGXB</i>	<i>Kaogu xuebao</i>
<i>Mawangdui Report</i>	<i>Changsha Mawangdui yi hao Han mu</i>
<i>Mancheng Report</i>	<i>Mancheng Han mu fajue baogao</i>
<i>Nan Yue Report</i>	<i>Xi Han Nan Yue wang mu</i>
<i>QFL</i>	<i>Qianfu lun</i>
<i>SBBY</i>	<i>Si bu beiyao</i>
<i>SBCK</i>	<i>Si bu cong kan</i>
<i>SGZ</i>	<i>San guo zhi</i>
<i>Shizhai shan Report</i>	<i>Yunnan Jinning Shizhai shan gu mu qun fajue baogao</i>
<i>SJ</i>	<i>Shiji</i>
<i>TPYL</i>	<i>Taiping yulan</i>
<i>WW</i>	<i>Wen wu</i>
<i>Xin Zhongguo</i>	<i>Xin Zhongguo de kaogu faxian he yanjiu</i>
<i>YTL</i>	<i>Yan tie lun</i>
<i>Yongcheng Report</i>	<i>Yongcheng Xi Han Liang guo wang ling yu qin yuan</i>

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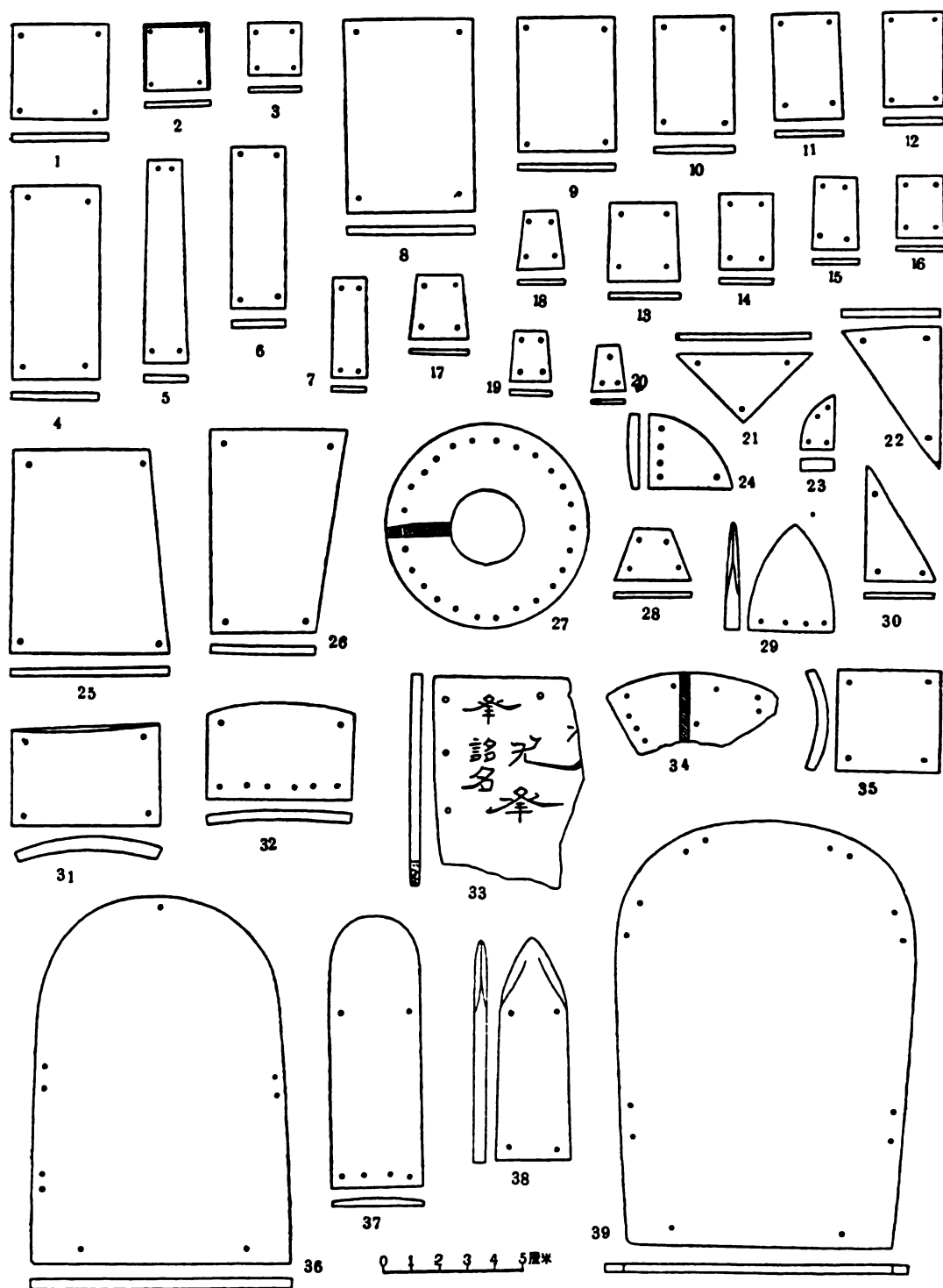
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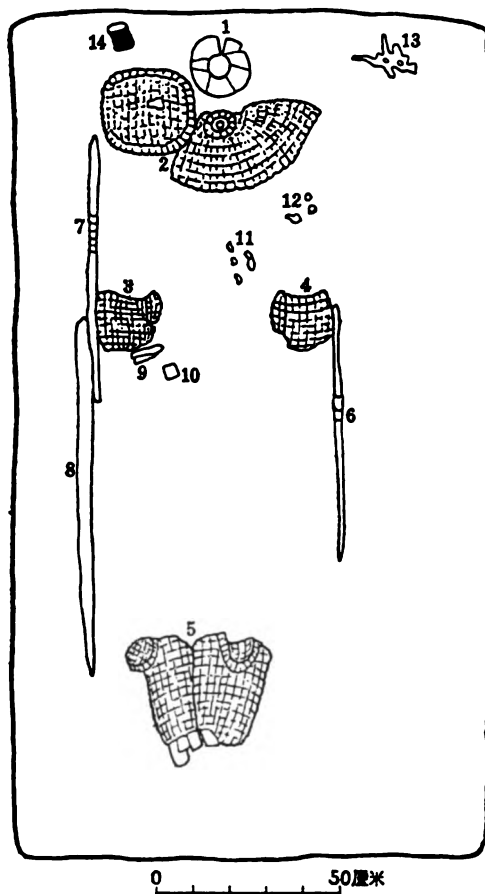


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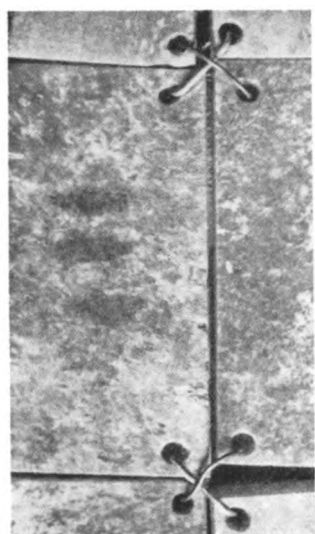
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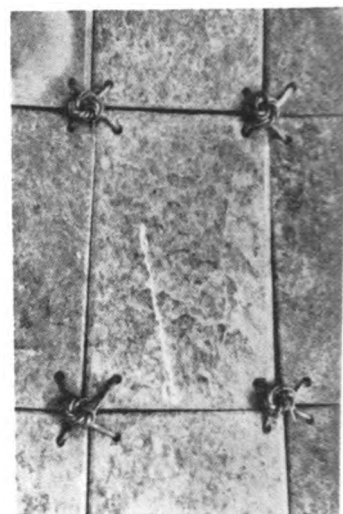
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2

满城汉墓“金缕玉衣”的工艺技术

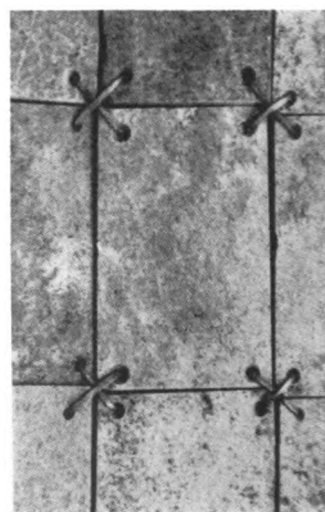
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(1. 2. 放大约一倍; 3-5. 约原大)



4



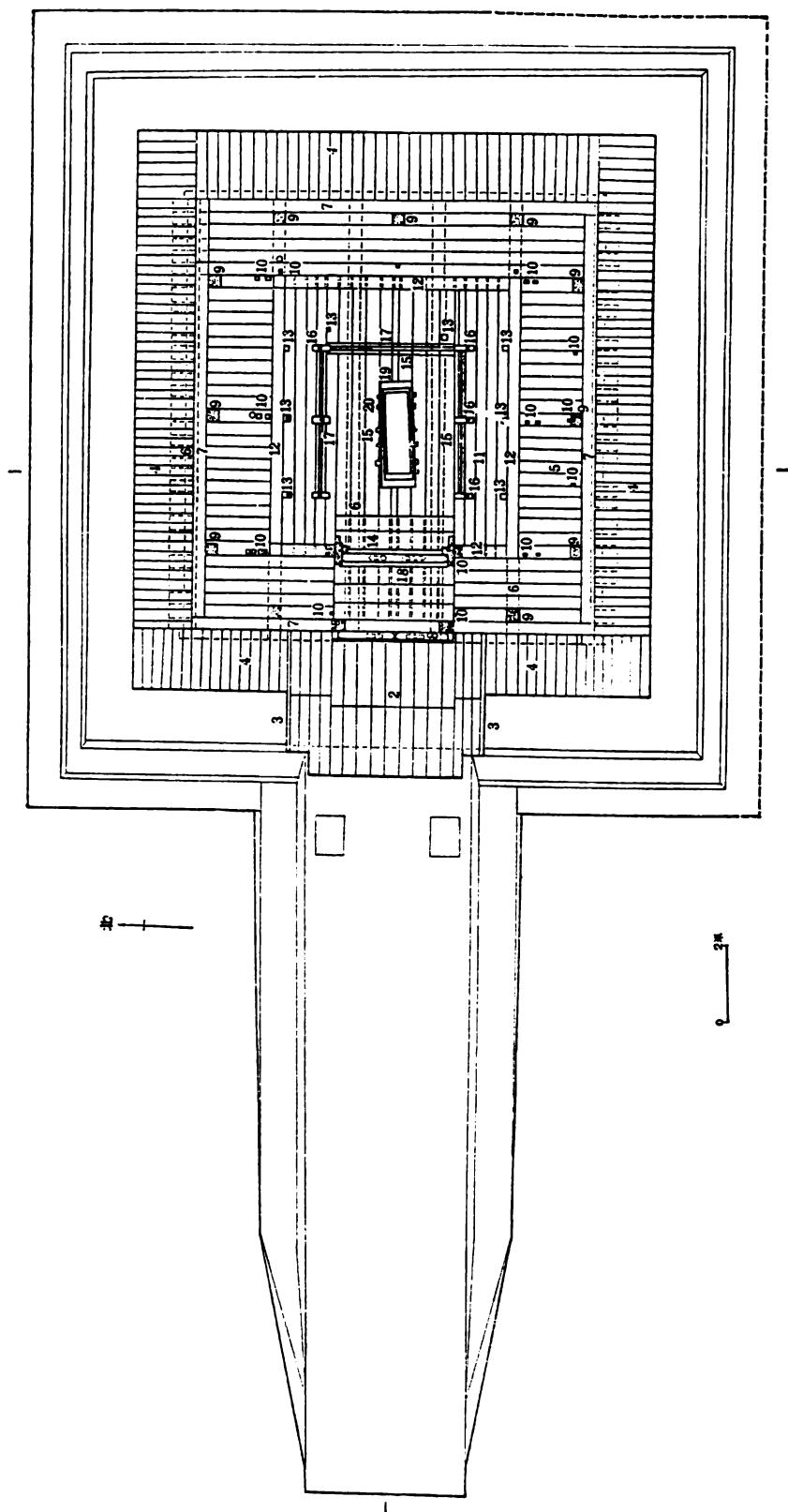
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5

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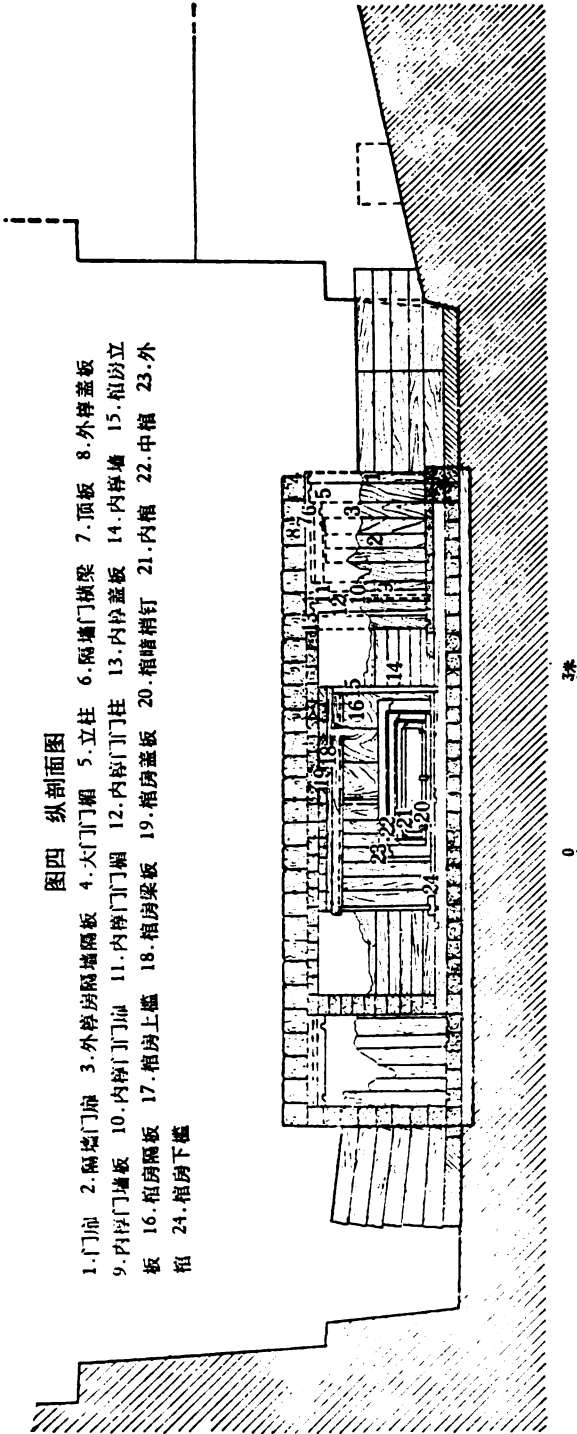
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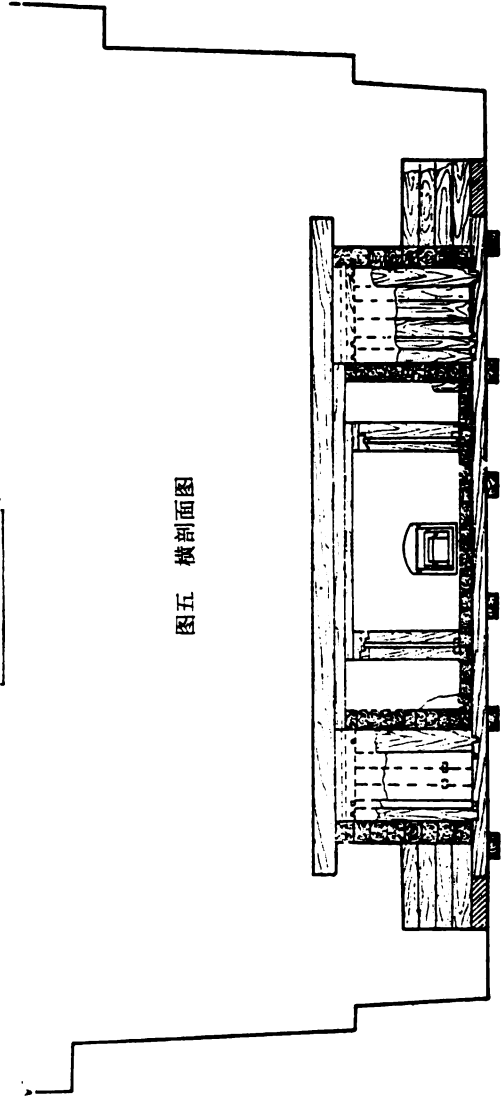
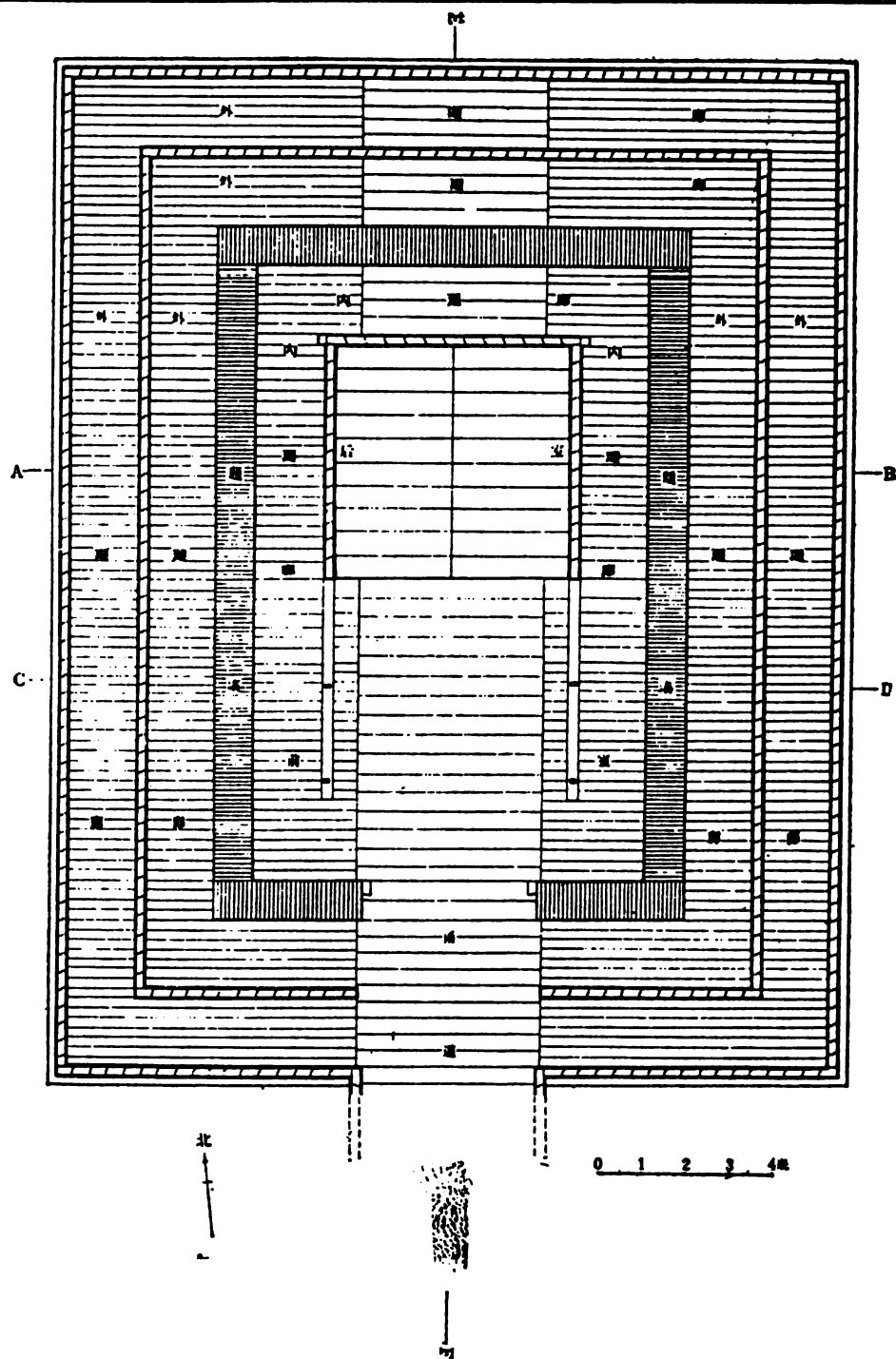


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北京大葆台汉墓

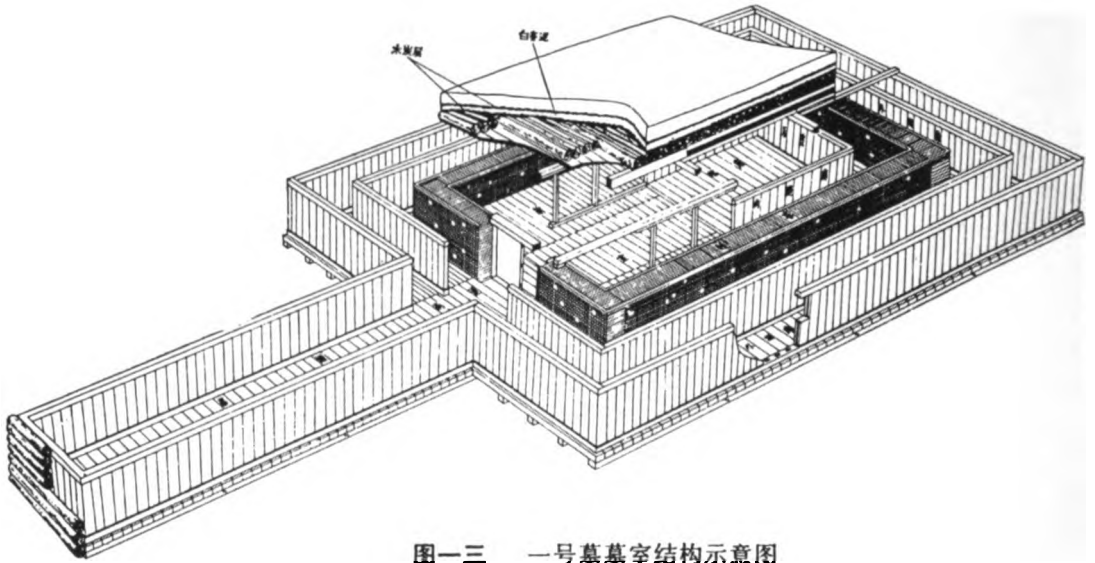


图九 一号墓室平面复原图

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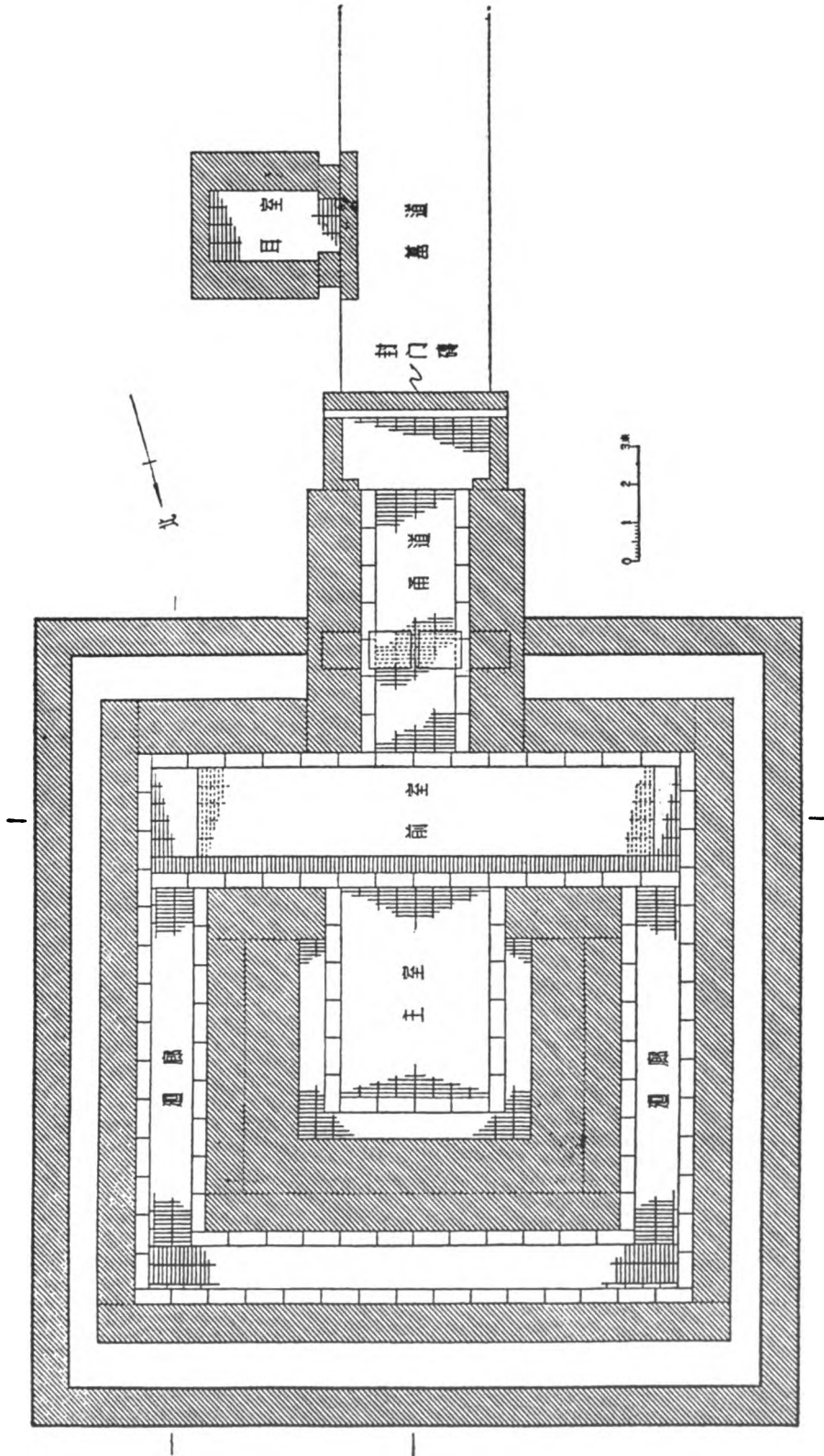
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From *Beijing Dabaotai Han mu*, p. 8



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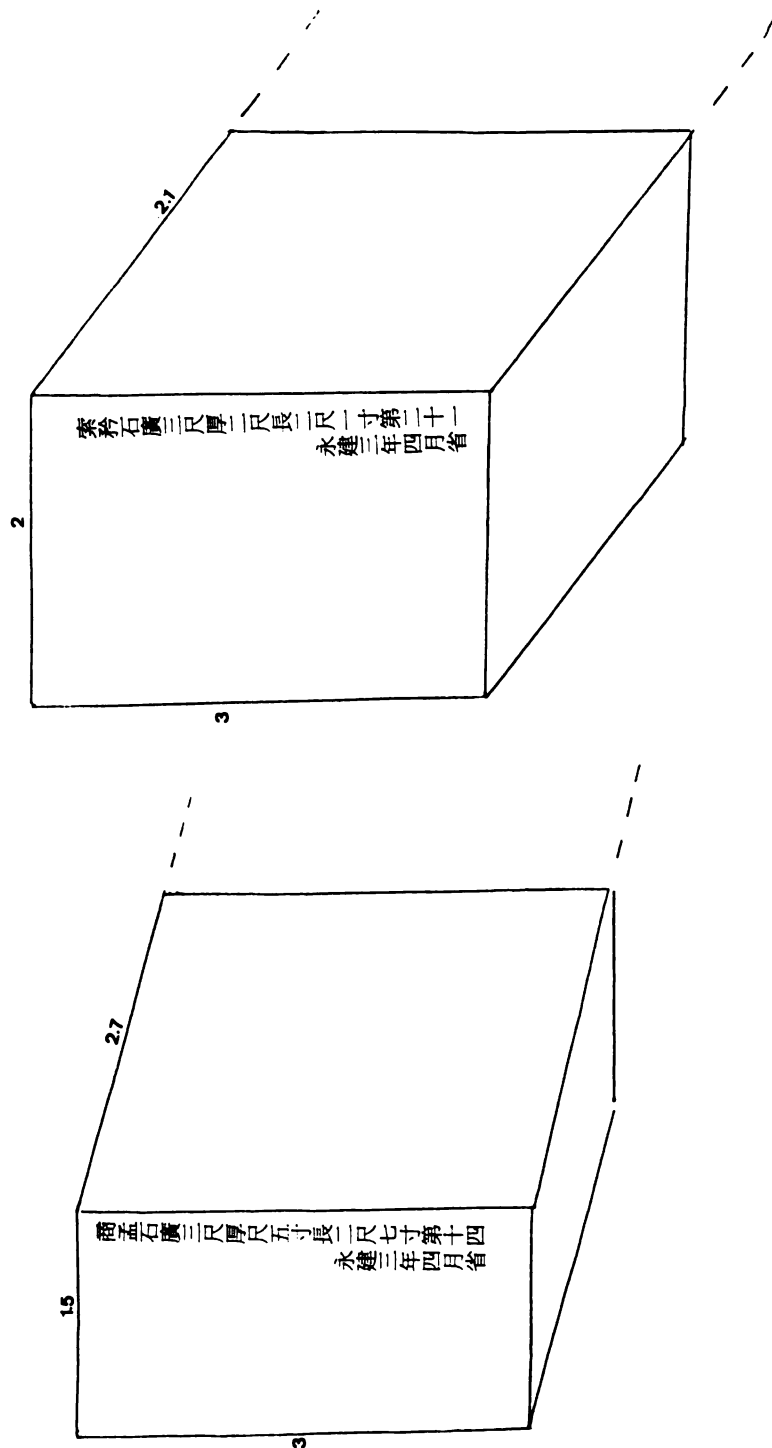


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CANNIBALISM IN THE DYNASTIC HISTORIES

by

Bengt Pettersson

Two works prompted this study.¹ Zheng Yi's *Scarlet Memorial* (*Hongse jinianbei* 紅色紀念碑), a report on cannibalism during the Cultural Revolution, and William Arens's *The Man-Eating Myth*, which disqualified most work ever done on cannibalism.² Oddly enough, in the case of China, in spite of hundreds of references to cannibalism in the Chinese sources there was no work done by anthropologists for Arens to disqualify. This, I believe, the Chinese written language bears some of blame for; firstly, it has been a criterion of civilization and secondly it has acted as a mechanical hindrance sometimes more difficult (or at least more time-consuming) to overcome than crossing an ocean.³ The present article is a descriptive study of cannibalism in imperial China, mainly as reflected in China's *Dynastic Histories*. It intends to show that earlier studies done by Sinologists have, in the case of pre-Qin accounts, suffered from mistranslations and that, as a contrast, the wealth of materials in the *Histories* has been neglected. In it, much of the relevant materials will be reviewed and the nature of the sources discussed, thus making them available to Sinologists and other scholars. Since I do not want to repeat the mistake of earlier scholars of finding cannibalism where there is none I make it a point of staying very close to the sources. At this point it suffices to say that I have attempted to analyze more closely only those accounts which to me seemed most reliable.

Part 1 differs from the other parts in that it is only a limited survey of works discussing pre-Qin cannibalism and is not based on an extensive search for accounts from this period. A brief look at these works was sufficient to leave me dissatisfied with

¹ This article is a shorter version of my dissertation entitled *Cannibalism in the Dynastic Histories* (Stockholm University, Dept. of Oriental Languages, 1999).

² Zheng Yi 鄭義, *Hongse jinianbei* 紅色紀念碑. English translation: *Scarlet Memorial: Tales of Cannibalism in Modern China*. William Arens, *The Man-eating Myth: Anthropology and Anthropophagy*.

³ To illustrate my point, at a modern day conference on Chinese death ritual two participants noted that anthropologists tended to regard writings they could not explain as peripheral. See James L. Watson and Evelyn S. Rawski, eds., 'The Structure of Chinese Funerary Rites: Elementary Forms, Ritual Sequence, and the Primacy of Performance,' pp. 5, 21.

the interpretations of the old texts.⁴ The rare cases of cannibalism are often mistranslated and misinterpreted in these studies.

In part 2 accounts of cannibalism gathered through searches done on a computerized version of the *Histories*⁵ are divided into four groups. In part 2a, cases relating to starvation are described. 2b deals with cases relating to vengeance, and 2c with those relating to filial piety. In 2d, descriptions very reminiscent of those discussed and rejected by Arens are presented (i.e. those pertaining to the eating of the 'Other'). Interestingly, this is the smallest group of all. All cases found (including those already presented in 2a-c) are translated and dated in part 3 under the heading 'Translations'.⁶

The list of cases from the *Histories* found in part 3 is not entirely complete. Where a case is recorded twice, for example once in the *Shiji* and once in the *Hanshu* or in both the new and old version of a *History*, it is sometimes included only once. The case not included is then referred to in the footnote. Cases only found in the commentaries are not included. The greater part of this article is devoted to translations, and one weakness is perhaps the brevity of the selections. I have tried to compensate for this by extending the translations in the more 'contextual' cases.

⁴ The examples were found mainly in Chong Key Ray, *Cannibalism in China*, Kuwabara Jitsuzô 桑原鶴藏, 'The custom of man-eating among the Chinese,' des Rotours, 'Quelques notes sur l'anthropophagie en Chine,' and in des Rotours, 'Encore quelques notes sur l'anthropophagie en Chine.'

⁵ This database can be accessed through the home page of Academia Sinica; www.sinica.edu.tw.

⁶ Since those presented in 2d are not examples of a category but are all found in the *Histories* it was not necessary to repeat them in Translations.

1. Cannibalism in Antiquity

Punishments

A quick scan through some of the sources used in previous studies indicates rather widely differing accounts of practices that may easily be associated with cannibalism. In the largest group of these accounts food-processing terms are used to describe the treatment of a victim. Of these *hai* 醢 and *peng* 烹 are the most common. *Hai* is usually translated as 'pickle' or 'to pickle'. The *Shuowen jiezi zhu* 說文解字注 gives its meaning as *roujiang* 肉醬.⁷ *Peng* sometimes occurs without the fire radical and is usually translated as 'to boil'. The *Cihai* 辭海 gives its meaning as *zhushao shiwu* 煮燒食物.⁸ *Fu* 脯 is a third less-common term which means dried meat. The *Shuowen* says *ganrou* 乾肉.⁹

An early example quoted in other studies is a narrative in the *Zuozhuan* 左傳 from the fourth year of Duke Xiang (568 B.C.), about the rebellious Prince Yi, who during the reign of Taikang (2187-2158 B.C.), established the Qiong kingdom. Prince Yi's fondness for hunting is said to have been encouraged by a treacherous advisor who gradually usurped power while his prince was away on hunting expeditions. One day the following happened:

將歸自田，家眾殺而亨之，以食其子，其子不忍食，諸死於窮門。
When he was about to return from the hunt, the servants killed and boiled him, and used him to feed his sons. They could not bear to eat [him], and all died at the gate of Qiong.¹⁰

A similar example comes from the reign of the last ruler of Shang; the notorious King Zhou (1153-1121 B.C.). Maybe in order to curry favour with Zhou, one of his three ministers, the marquis of Jiu, gave away his daughter. Her inability to put up with her master's debaucheries led to the following disaster:

九侯女不喜淫，紂怒，殺之，而醢九侯。鄂侯爭之彊，辨之疾，并脯鄂侯。
The marquis of Jiu's daughter did not like perversities. Zhou was angered, killed her and pickled the marquis of Jiu. The marquis of E remonstrated, and did it with such vigour that Zhou had him dried too.¹¹

⁷ Xu Shen 許慎, *Shuowen jiezi zhu* 說文解字注, p. 751.

⁸ Zhao Xiru 趙錫如, *Cihai* 辭海, p. 646.

⁹ Xu, *Shuowen*, p. 174.

¹⁰ Legge, *The Chinese Classics*: Vol. V, p. 422.

¹¹ Sima Qian 司馬遷, *Shiji* 史記, p. 106. Xi 喜 should have *xin* 心 below.

According to Zhang Shoujie's 張守節 Tang dynasty *Zhengyi* 正義 commentary to the *Shiji* 史記, Huangfu Mi's 皇甫謐 Jin 晉 dynasty work the *Diwang shiji* 帝王世紀 says that the third minister, the Western Earl Chang (i.e. the future King Wen), was jailed for lamenting the fate of his colleagues and served a soup made of his own son.

紂烹為羹，賜文王曰：聖人當不食其子羹。文王食之。紂曰：誰謂西伯聖者？食其子羹尚不知也。

Zhou boiled [the son] into a soup, gave it to King Wen and said: 'A virtuous man cannot drink soup made of his own son.' King Wen drank it. Zhou said: 'Who says the Western Earl is a virtuous man? [After] drinking soup made of his own son, [who would] still not know [whether the Western Earl is a virtuous man or not]?'¹²

These accounts are interesting for many reasons; however, due to their antiquity and the time gap between event and recording they cannot be considered very reliable. The usage of terms connected with food preparation indicates that the bodies were later consumed, a view held by Chong Key Ray, author of *Cannibalism in China*.¹³ Since this view seems easily discredited out of context, the first and the third accounts should be examined. In both someone is forced to drink soup made of a relative who has been deposed or is about to assume the throne. Marcel Granet argues in his *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne* that in ancient China a rebel expiated his deed and gained the heavenly mandate by killing an alter ego.¹⁴ The above two examples seem to confirm the theory that this type of violence also had symbolic value since the above persons were given the choice of eating or dying; i.e. disavowing and transferring the mandate of heaven by polluting themselves or perishing with their personal virtue intact. In Walter Burkert's *Homo Necans*, the strikingly similar Peloponnesian myth of Thyestes' feast is retold.¹⁵

Even if these examples, as both Édouard Chavannes and Robert des Rotours agree, come from texts of a legendary character and have features similar to myths from other parts of the world, they prove that cannibalism was conceivable at the time and that it was considered an extreme act of great symbolic value.¹⁶ The following examples should be examined with this in mind.

The *Zhushu jinian* 竹書紀年 says that in 858 B.C. King Yi of Zhou assembled the princes and:

烹齊哀公于鼎。

...boiled Duke Ai of Qi in a tripod.¹⁷

There are few details regarding this punishment. In the *Hanshu* 漢書 it is called the *huopeng* 鑊亨 punishment and commented on by Yan Shigu 顏師古 (581-645): 'A

¹² *Shiji*, p. 107. The *Diwang shiji* and this particular account can be found in *Congshu jicheng xinbian* 叢書集成新編, vol. 110, p. 330.

¹³ Chong, *Cannibalism in China*, p. 47.

¹⁴ Granet, *Danses et légendes de la Chine ancienne*, pp. 213-16.

¹⁵ Burkert, *Homo Necans: the Anthropology of Ancient Greek Sacrificial Ritual and Myth*, pp. 103-109. There is also an almost identical story in *Han fei zi* 韓非子, *Ershier zi* 二十二子, p. 1142.

¹⁶ Chavannes, *Les mémoires historiques de Se-ma Ts'ien*, p. 202. des Rotours, 'Encore,' p. 2.

¹⁷ Legge, *The Chinese Classics*: Vol. III, p. 153.

large *ding*-shaped (鼎) vessel without feet is called a *huo*. It is used to boil people.¹⁸ The boiling of Duke Ai is also mentioned in the *Shiji* without specifying the utensil used.¹⁹

In 681 B.C. after a coup in Song 宋, the people of Song have their thirst for revenge quenched by making pickle of the usurpers.

陳人使婦人飲之酒，而以犀革裹之，夫及宋，手足皆見，宋人皆醢之。
The people of Chen made a woman intoxicate him with alcohol and then wrapped him up inside a rhinoceros' hide. When he reached Song his hands and feet were visible. The people of Song made pickle of him.²⁰

In 557 B.C. members of the Wei 尉 and Si 司 clans create disorder in Zheng 鄭 and flee to Song. Three of the four refugees are extradited and reduced to pickle at the hands of the Zheng people.

鄭人醢之，三人也。
The people of Zheng pickled all three of them.²¹

In the first year of King Yin (313 B.C.), Zizhi of Yan fails in an assassination attempt. For this he is pickled by the Qi army.

燕子之殺公子平，不克，齊師殺子之，醢其身。
Zizhi of Yan was going to kill his ruler's son Ping but failed. The Qi army killed Zizhi and pickled his body.²²

The first ruler of the Han dynasty, the famous Liu Bang 劉邦, takes the *hai* treatment a step further and distributes the (dismembered) pieces of an usurper's body among his vassals.

夏，漢誅梁王彭越，醢之，盛其醢偏賜諸侯。
In the summer, Han killed Peng Yue, king of Liang, pickled him, put the pieces in receptacles and distributed them among his vassals.²³

Chong explains that in this case Liu Bang 'personally distributed small pieces of his opponent's flesh to the vassals throughout his empire for their consumption.'²⁴ Liu Zaifu 劉再復 also states that the pieces were offered to the vassals for consumption.²⁵

In the sources examined *hai* and *peng* are the most common of these three terms.

¹⁸ Ban Gu 班固, *Hanshu* 漢書, p. 1096.

¹⁹ *Shiji*, p. 1482.

²⁰ Legge, vol. V, p. 89.

²¹ Ibid, p. 468. In Lewis' study *Sanctioned Violence in Early China*, the above two examples are referred to as evidence that 'perpetrators of heinous crimes were chopped up into a meat stew and eaten' (Lewis, p. 173).

²² Legge, vol. III (*Bamboo Books*), p. 175.

²³ *Shiji*, p. 2603. See also *Hanshu*, p. 1887.

²⁴ Chong, p. 50.

²⁵ Liu Zaifu 劉再復, 'Chinese proverb: 'Everyone who has eyes can see': a good patriot cannot shut his eyes to the deficiencies in the history of his country,' *Dagens Nyheter*, 1992.

Fu is used only once (possibly as a synonym to *hai*). They are either used as punishments for severe crimes such as insurrection or murder, or describe the cruelty of the punisher. The fact that they all refer to food preparation suggests that the victims were later consumed. However, only in one of the accounts is this explicitly stated. The phrases end with *x* 之, *x* 其身, *x* 九侯, etc. What then, one might ask, makes so many scholars believe that, as K.C. Chang puts it: 'Pickling, aside from boiling and drying, also seems to be a favorite method for anthropophagy...',²⁶ when there is only one example of a legendary character of someone explicitly being eaten? Such conclusions are probably influenced by a combination of the original food connotation of the words, expressions of anger or desire related to cannibalism used in the Chinese language (examined below), and examination of other (more modern?) sources. Could *hai*, *peng* and *fu* mean; 'pickled and eaten', 'boiled and eaten' and 'dried and eaten'? No dictionaries support this. Aside from the above original meanings of the characters they usually add meanings such as: 'to mince a criminal as a punishment in ancient China',²⁷ 'minced meat—to make mincemeat of a foe, barbarous ancient custom',²⁸ 'a harsh ancient punishment, chopping people into meat sauce [*roujiang* 肉醬]',²⁹ A fourth punishment named after a food-processing term was 'roasting' (*paoluo zhi xing* 炮烙之刑). It is not as readily accepted as a way to prepare human flesh by the other scholars maybe because of its detailed description in *Shiji* which mentions nothing about consumption of the roasted culprit.³⁰

In Yan Shigu's commentary to the *Hanshu* the term *ju* 菹 (also written 醢 and used for instance in *Zhuangzi* 莊子³¹) is explained as also meaning *hai*.³² This is interesting because the original meaning of this term is 'to pickle; dried herbs'³³ or 'salted or pickled vegetables'³⁴; i.e. it has nothing to do with meat. Since pickled vegetables cannot be made from human flesh this should be regarded as evidence that these terms mean 'cut to pieces' only. This is also indicated by the Liu Bang example where he first makes *hai* of an usurper and *then* puts the pieces in receptacles.

The gravity and symbolism of cannibalism as exemplified by the first and second accounts in this part surely suggests that where cases occur of people actually eating each other they would be clearly recorded as such, and euphemisms involving words such as *hai* or *peng* would not be used. This leads to the conclusion that cannibalism was not used as a punishment in ancient China. There is nothing new about this view. None of the translators (Legge, Couvreur and Chavannes) have interpreted these terms as anything other than 'boiled' or 'pickled'. It is interesting to note that whereas anthropologists generally since Arens' study have come to reject most

²⁶ K. C. Chang, ed., *Food in Chinese Culture*, p. 34.

²⁷ Liang Shiqiu 梁實叅, ed., *Far East Chinese-English Dictionary*, p. 1406.

²⁸ Mathews, *A Chinese-English Dictionary*, p. 287.

²⁹ Zhao, *Cihai*, p. 1157.

³⁰ See *Shiji*, p. 106–107.

³¹ Ware, *The Sayings of Chuang Tzu*, p. 377.

³² *Hanshu*, p. 1105.

³³ Bernard Karlgren, 'Grammata Serica Recensa,' p. 32.

³⁴ Liang, *Far East*, p. 1167.

reports on cannibalism, anthropologically inclined sinologists not only approach the issue as before but also base much of their analyses on the only era (i.e. pre-Qin) where cannibalism seems rare.³⁵

Thus, having very few examples of explicit cannibalism, it would seem more appropriate to dismiss those that do exist as idiosyncrasies of certain kings or as legends used by philosophers to stress a certain point, rather than to draw the conclusion that cannibalism was used a punishment in ancient China. How can this chopping and boiling of one's opponents be explained? Knowing the Chinese preference for the dead to enter the grave intact, desecration must have been the motive. Robert des Rotours notes that the habit of boiling and cutting bodies seems to have disappeared during the Han dynasty.³⁶ This observation corresponds well with the abolition of 'flesh punishments' (*rou xing* 肉刑) in 167 B.C.³⁷ While these 'flesh punishments' do not seem to have ever regained legal status, they, or at least the cutting of bodies into pieces, seem to have continued outside the law for several centuries to finally reappear in the official penal system (after being 'barbarianized' as originating with a tribal people of Tungus stock) in the shape of *lingchi* 凌遲.³⁸

Loyalty

This group is comprised of examples which illustrate how cannibalism was used to demonstrate loyalty. In *Zhuangzi* the iconoclast Robber Zhi (*Dao Zhi* 盜跖) tells Confucius about the uselessness of blind loyalty. One of his six examples concerns Jie Zitui 介子推 who:

自割其股以食文公

personally cut flesh from his thigh to feed Duke Wen of Chin [*Jin*].³⁹

Even if Robber Zhi is cynical about Jie Zitui's behaviour he is nevertheless lauded in both the *Shiji* and the *Zuozhuan* for his unselfishness. Unlike everyone else who helped Duke Wen to power he refrained from reminding his master of his deed and died a recluse together with his mother. When Duke Wen was reminded of him it was too late. A geographical spot was named after him to, as Duke Wen puts it: 'record my fault and show the man's benevolence.'⁴⁰

When it comes to persons who went too far in their efforts to appear virtuous, Han Feizi also has a list of moral precedents. Among them is Yiya 易牙 who, to satisfy his Duke Huan of Qi's (683-641 B.C.) appetite for unusual foods:

³⁵ It should be noted that some of the studies quoted here came before Arens's.

³⁶ des Rotours, 'Quelques,' p. 393.

³⁷ *Shiji*, p. 2795.

³⁸ For a more thorough discussion of *lingchi* and its origin see Bodde and Morris, *Law in Imperial China*, pp. 93-95.

³⁹ Ware, p. 377 (his trans.).

⁴⁰ Cf. *Shiji*, p. 1662 and Legge, vol. V, p. 189.

蒸其子首而進之
steamed his son's head and offered it [to the duke].⁴¹

Yiya's act seems to have impressed Duke Huan at first but when his advisor is asked about employing Yiya as minister the reply is that someone who kills his own son to accommodate his master lacks human sentiment.⁴² It should be noted that none of these four sources reveal whether any human meat was consumed. The suggested cannibalism is eclipsed by the moral judgements of the people involved. Acts like Jie Zitui's are extremely rare in antiquity, but quite prevalent later on, and will not be discussed further here.

Expressions

Earlier, in 685 B.C., the same Duke Huan defeats Lu 魯 and demands the extradition of his brother's advisors Guanzhong and Zhaohu. The letter dispatched to Lu says:

子糾兄弟，弗忍誅，請魯自殺之。召忽、管仲讎也，請得而甘心醢之。不然，將圍魯。

Zijiu is my brother and I cannot bear to execute him. Please kill him yourselves. Zhaohu and Guanzhong are my enemies. Please let me have them and rejoice in their pickling. Otherwise, Lu will be beleaguered.⁴³

Robert des Rotours concludes that: '...la seule proposition de mettre les gens en hachis salé (*hai*) à cette époque reculée démontre qu'il était parfois d'usage de manger ses ennemis.'⁴⁴ In 636 B.C. Chong Er (the future Duke Wen) wakes up in a carriage and finds out that his uncle, Jiu Fan, is taking him back to Jin 晉. Chong Er, who has been intoxicated, is furious and tries to kill his captor with a halberd. In the ensuing panic Jiu Fan cries:

殺臣成子，偃之願也。重耳曰：事不成，我食舅之肉。咎犯曰：事不成，犯肉腥臊，何足食。

If you are killing me to become prince again I'm willing to die. Chong Er answers: If I do not succeed I will eat my uncle's flesh. Jiu Fan says: If you do not succeed, [I would like to advise you that since I shall die on the battlefield trying to restore you to power] my flesh will be odorous and not good enough to eat.⁴⁵

In 626 B.C. the Qin army is defeated at Yao 殽 and three commanders taken prisoner. The Earl of Qin's 秦 daughter Wenying intercedes by suggesting that they should be returned to Qin. She describes her father's eagerness to punish them:

寡君若得而食之不厭

Even if my master laid hands on them and ate them, he would not feel satisfied.⁴⁶

⁴¹ Watson, *The Works of Han Fei Tzu*, p. 26 (Watson trans.).

⁴² *Shiji*, p. 1492.

⁴³ *Shiji*, p. 1486.

⁴⁴ des Rotours, 'Encore,' p. 3.

⁴⁵ *Shiji*, p. 1658.

⁴⁶ Legge, vol. V, p. 222.

In the *Shiji* she says:

令我君得自快烹之
Let my master have them and rejoice in boiling them.⁴⁷

In 596 B.C. the Chief Minister and the Viscount of Chu want to flee the approaching Jin troops while the Viscount's favourite Wu Can insists on fighting.

戰而不捷，參之肉其足食乎。參曰：若事之捷，孫叔為無謀矣，不捷，參之肉將在晉軍，可得食乎。
[If we] fight and lose, will the eating of Can's flesh be enough [to atone for the result]? Can answered: If we fight and win [it will show that] Sun Shu is an incapable planner. If we lose, my flesh shall be in the hands of the Jin army; so how would you get it to eat?⁴⁸

The *Zhuangzi* shows that not even Confucius was exempt from such threats. Asking to meet Robber Zhi he is told to:

疾走歸；不然，我將以子肝益畫餽之膳！
Leave immediately! Otherwise, I will add your liver to the day's rations.⁴⁹

In the beginning of the Han dynasty (203 B.C.) Xiang Yu tries to force Liu Bang into submission by threatening to boil Taigong, Liu Bang's father.

今不急下，吾烹太公。漢王曰：吾與項羽俱北面受命懷王，曰約為兄弟，吾翁即若翁，必欲烹而翁，則幸分我一盂羹。
If you do not submit immediately, I will boil Taigong.' The king of Han said: 'When you and I turned towards the north and received King Huai's order, we united in a brotherhood pact. Thus, my father is your father. If you insist on boiling your father, please let me have a bowl of the soup.'⁵⁰

This explicit connection between boiling and eating in the last example causes Rotours to conclude that all boilings of humans are cases of anthropophagy.⁵¹ The fact that Taigong in the end was neither boiled nor eaten obviously does not influence his conclusion. If these examples prove anything it is that cannibalism was sometimes referred to during heated arguments in ancient China. This way of describing anger, desire or fear is by no means exclusively Chinese; therefore what remains to be found out is whether the threats were ever carried out. So far there is very little evidence indicating this. Noteworthy is the wit with which some of the threats are expressed. Besides, it would be odd if the food-oriented Chinese culture could not easily describe cannibalism metaphorically. Both Mencius and Zhuangzi use cannibalism as a worst-case scenario for a world without benevolence.

⁴⁷ *Shiji*, p. 192.

⁴⁸ Legge, vol. V, p. 312.

⁴⁹ Ware, p. 373, (his trans.).

⁵⁰ *Shiji*, pp. 327–28.

⁵¹ des Rotours, 'Quelques,' p. 391.

仁義充塞則率獸食人，人將相食。

When righteousness and benevolence are stopped up, beasts will be led on to devour men, and men will devour one another.⁵²

Starvation

In Duke Xuan's 15th year (593 B.C.) the people of Song were beleaguered by Chu. To show their determination to resist the invaders, the people of Song sent a messenger to the enemy commander describing their situation as follows:

寡君使元以病告，曰：「易子而食，析骸以爨，雖然，城下之盟，有以國斃，不能從也，去我三十里，唯命是聽。」

My master has sent me to inform you of our distress. In the city we are exchanging our children and eating them, and splitting up their bones for fuel. Notwithstanding, if you require us to make a covenant with you under the walls, we will not do so, though our city should be utterly overthrown. Withdraw from us 30 *le* [*li*] and then we will accept your commands.⁵³

In the *Shiji* the Commander of Chu tells almost the same story to the king.

王問：「城中何如？」曰：「析骨而炊，易子而食。」莊王曰：「誠哉言！我軍亦有二日糧。」以信故，遂罷兵去。

The king asked: 'What is the situation within the walls?' Zifan answered: 'Bones are split for fuel and children are exchanged and eaten.' King Zhuang said: 'Sincere words indeed. My troops have only two days' provisions.' Because he believed in this the troops were withdrawn.⁵⁴

A third account of the same event is found in chapter 40 of the *Shiji*.

圍宋五月，城中食盡，易子而食，析骨而炊。宋華元出告以情。莊王曰：「君子哉！」遂罷兵去。

Song had been beleaguered for five months, food supplies within the walls were exhausted. Children were being exchanged and eaten, and their bones split for fuel. Hua Yuan went out to make their situation known. King Zhuang said: 'A gentleman indeed', and withdrew his troops.⁵⁵

In 486 B.C. the event is used as an example of heroic resistance.

楚人圍宋，易子而食，析骸而爨，猶無城下之盟

[When] Chu beleaguered Song, children were exchanged and eaten, and their bones split for fuel. Still they would not make a covenant under the walls.⁵⁶

Later on when Liao was surrounded by Qi, the former event is used to describe a strategy of city defence. The expression is shortened to four words:

⁵² Legge, *The Chinese Classics*: Vol. II, *The Works of Mencius*, p. 283, (his trans.) and Ware, p. 309. These two seem to be the first to use the *xiangshi* 相食 expression for cannibalism.

⁵³ Legge, vol. V, p. 326 (his trans.).

⁵⁴ *Shiji*, p. 1629.

⁵⁵ *Shiji*, pp. 1702–03.

⁵⁶ Legge, vol. V, p. 815.

食人炊骨，士無反外之心，是孫臏之兵也。

When officers harbour no thoughts of rebellion although people are eaten and their bones burned, they can be called soldiers of Sun Bin's.⁵⁷

It might seem obvious that *yi zi er shi* 易子而食 means 'eat children'. However, Couvreur's translation says: 'Les habitants de notre humble ville vendent leurs enfants pour avoir des vivres, et fendent les os des morts pour faire cuire leur nourriture.'⁵⁸ The above example from Liao is more explicit and shows that Couvreur is probably wrong.⁵⁹ The expression is also used when Qin has beleaguered Zhao. Li Tong, an official, describes the difference between the hardships suffered by the Zhao people and the high life lived by its ruler. A six word version is used:

李同曰：「邯鄲之民，炊骨易子而食，可謂急矣，而君之後宮以百數，婢妾被綺縠，餘粱肉，而民褐衣不完，糟糠不厭。」

Li Tong said: 'It can really be said to be serious when the people of Handan burn bones, exchange children and eat them. The king's concubines, who can be counted in the hundreds, don the finest silk garments and enjoy an excess of foods while the people do not even have enough of the coarsest garments and cannot eat their fill of dregs and husks.'⁶⁰

Granet argues that exchanging and eating children was neither a way to prolong resistance nor to make the enemy believe one was able to outlast him. On the contrary, it was done to show that conditions were 'reasonable'. The sacrifice re-established equilibrium and neutralized the impending defeat. If one could sacrifice, one could possess; by showing an ability to destroy, one displayed a right to own. One established one's right to the future when, by eating the children, the semblance of sacrificing one's posterity was conveyed.⁶¹ It is hard to determine what Granet means with *raisonnables*. Later accounts show that humans were eaten only after a long chain of less and less edible materials had been consumed. The only comment found on the expression comes from the *Hanshu*. The same event is mentioned, this time expressed with a five-character version 析骸而炊之 bones were split and burnt'. The Tang dynasty commentator Yan Shigu explains:

事在十五年。炊，爨也。言無薪樵，示困之甚也。

It happened in the 15th year. *Chui* means to burn as firewood. To say that there was no firewood shows that hardships were severe.⁶²

The splitting and burning of bones is not commented on by Granet. If this was part of the ritual why is it not mentioned in connection with animal sacrifice? The explanation is that the historian wanted to emphasize the severity of the situation not just by relating incidents of killing and sacrifice, but also by describing how the dead were used to alleviate the crisis. The last thing one could burn was the bones

⁵⁷ *Shiji*, p. 2466.

⁵⁸ Couvreur, *Tch'ouen Ts'iou et Tso Tchouan*, vol. I, p. 653. Cf. also vol. III, p. 651.

⁵⁹ There are examples supporting both translations. Compare Zhao Erxuan 趙爾巽, *Qingshi gao* 清史稿, p. 1648, and Song Lian 宋濂, *Yuanshi* 元史, p. 1110.

⁶⁰ *Shiji*, p. 2369.

⁶¹ Granet, p. 163.

⁶² *Hanshu*, p. 1488.

of the dead. In a way this does not contradict Granet's theory. In biology, ritual has been defined as 'a behavioral pattern that has lost its primary function—present in its unritualized model—but which persists in a new function, that of communication.'⁶³ Children *were* sacrificed, but according to this definition not ritually since the primary aim was to secure nourishment and not to make an awe-instilling sacrifice.

The reason for spreading information about the extreme hardships and the willingness to endure a prolonged 'to-the-bitter-end' resistance was that it was supposed to ward off the attackers. Not knowing the tremendous pressure the attacker was subject to, one might find it surprising that the 'eat children' message was not interpreted as: 'They have resorted to cannibalism and are about to give up' but: 'They will (do anything to) outlast you.'

In the following quote from *Sunzi* 孫子 the famous strategist explains the perils of besieging walled cities:

The rule is, not to besiege walled cities if it can possibly be avoided. The preparation of mantlets, movable shelters, and various implements of war, will take up three whole months; and the piling up of mounds over against the walls will take three months more. The general who is unable to control his impatience will launch his men to the assault like swarming ants, with the results that one-third of his men are slain, while the town remains untaken. Such are liable to be the disastrous effects of a siege.⁶⁴

⁶³ Burkert, p. 23.

⁶⁴ Giles, *Sun Tzu on The Art of War*, p. 135 (his trans.).

2. Cannibalism in the *Dynastic Histories*

2a. Starvation-related cannibalism

As with historiography in general, descriptions of cannibalism caused by food shortages changed substantially during the Han dynasty and little thereafter.

In the *Shiji* the Mencian *xiangshi* 相食 reappears and from then on becomes the standard expression for cannibalism caused by food shortages. This reappearance coincides with a surge in interest for the Confucian classics said to have taken place around the beginning of Emperor Wu's reign in 140 B.C. The wording, and more importantly, the concern expressed for the emperor's suffering subjects are both novelties which indicate that an ideological change occurred some 60 years into the Han dynasty. The two characters *xiang* 相 and *shi* 食 then appear next to one another approximately 250 times in the *Dynastic Histories*. The fact that both these characters frequently occur separately and each has several differing meanings makes it somewhat surprising that in 97-98% of the cases where they appear together they refer to humans eating each other.⁶⁵ *Xiangshi* is thus by far the most common Chinese word for cannibalism.⁶⁶ Whether the change in wording also indicates a change in behaviour is not clear. Homer H. Dubs translates the expression as 'people ate each other'⁶⁷, a rendering Nancy Lee Swann briefly comments on as erroneous.⁶⁸ She prefers to translate it as 'inhabitants ate human flesh'⁶⁹ or 'people ate human flesh',⁷⁰ meaning that it was a shorter way of saying 'exchange children and eat'. Even if Swann is right and the difference in meaning between the pre- and post-Qin expressions is negligible, the reasons for recording cannibalism changed considerably. While earlier depicted as heroic behaviour and an indicator of how far people would go to defend themselves within a walled city, it had become a cause for concern. Now people were not supposed to starve and if they did, something was universally wrong.

The accounts

In the *Histories* cannibalism is noted in the basic annals (*benji* 本紀), biographies (*liezhuan* 列傳), and treatises on the five elements (*Wuxing zhi* 五行志), food and money (*Shihuo zhi* 食貨志), and astronomy (*Tianwen zhi* 天文志). In spite of the very different headings of these chapters, the accounts do not vary very much. Few

⁶⁵ *Ershiwushi quanwen jiansuo xitong* 二十五史全文檢索系統 (see note 11). In the remaining cases horses and cattle eat each other's hair, or locusts eat each other. It is also surprising that these two characters are not found as a compound in dictionaries.

⁶⁶ Less common words are *xiangdan* 相噉 and *xiangdan* 相啖, both used less than ten times each.

⁶⁷ Dubs, *History of the Former Han Dynasty*, vol. I, p. 82 and vol. III, p. 480.

⁶⁸ Swann, *Food & Money in Ancient China*, p. 389.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 199–200, 213.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 356.

of them are exclusive to their chapters in style or detail. The most common type of reference to cannibalism is the short 'one-liner' found throughout the *Histories*. These two come from the basic annals:

138 B.C.

三年春，河水溢于平原，大飢，人相食。

In the spring of the third year, the river He flooded Pingyuan. There was a severe famine. People ate each other.⁷¹

1877

是歲，山、陝大旱，人相食。

This year there was a severe drought in Shan and Shaan. People ate each other.⁷²

The first one is among the very first found and the second among the very last. They are two thousand years apart, yet almost identical in language and details. This shows not only how cannibalism is usually described throughout the *Histories* but also how the static nature of these texts makes it possible to generalize over time. Even if they are found in very different chapters, their uniform, terse and informative style is easily associated with the listings of natural disasters in the chapters about the five elements. This suggests that they were added to the text of the historian relatively unaltered from a list of incoming reports. Unfortunately, it is this way of dealing with incidents, however traumatic, in only a few words which has distracted researchers from delving deeper into the context of these one-liners and made them focus on the more detailed accounts, i.e. other kinds of cannibalism.

The primary purpose of the more general descriptions was to report on the state of the empire or parts thereof.

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五六年間，民無耕織，千室之邑，不存一二，歲即凶耗，皆膾人而食，喪亂之酷，未之前聞。

Over a period of five to six years people were without livelihood. Of cities of 1,000 houses, there were not one or two left. Then came the crop failure. Everywhere humans were chopped to pieces and eaten. The cruelties caused by the turmoil had never been heard of before.⁷³

The secondary purpose was to show how the empire was run, by telling of the reaction of the rulers to reports on their suffering subjects.

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三月，京師大飢，民相食。壬辰，公卿詣闕謝。詔曰：「朕以幼冲，奉承鴻業，不能宣流風化，而感逆陰陽，至令百姓飢耗，更相噉食。永懷悼歎，若墜淵水。咎在朕躬，非群司之責，而過自貶引，重朝廷之不德。其務思變復，以助不逮。」癸巳，詔以鴻池假與貧民。

In the third month there was a severe famine in the capital. People ate each other. On the *renchen* day officials gathered at court to accept the blame.

⁷¹ *Hanshu*, p. 158.

⁷² *Qingshi gao*, p. 861.

⁷³ Liu Xu 劉詢, *Jiu Tangshu* 舊唐書, p. 737.

The decree said: 'At a young age I humbly assumed the great task. I could not propagate morality and my feelings disturbed the balance of Yin and Yang. This has made the common people starve and repeatedly eat each other. Forever thinking about this sorrow is like falling down an abyss of water. The fault is mine, not the officials'. They shoulder the blame when it is the virtue of the court which should be questioned. Devoting their thinking to the question of blame, help does not reach the people in need.' On the *guisi* day, the Hongchi was lent to the poor.⁷⁴

The comments above on responsibility is rather typical of the basic annals. 'Bad' events reported to the court could result in changed policies or at least an introspection by the emperor.

The biographies are, when they differ from the other chapters, centered around an act which causes or alleviates suffering among the people.

402

及孫恩亂後，東土飢耗，人相食，孔氏散家糧以賑邑里，得活者甚眾，生子皆以孔為名焉。

After the upheaval caused by Sun En there was a famine in the eastern region. People ate each other. The Kong clan's distribution of family food supplies as relief to the village saved scores of people. When these had sons, they all named them Kong.⁷⁵

453

元嘉末，青州飢耗，人相食，善明家有積粟，躬食糲粥，開倉以救鄉里，多獲全濟，百姓呼其家田為續命田。

At the end of the Yuanjia reign, there was a famine in Qingzhou. People ate each other. Although Shanming's family had a supply of grain, they still ate gruel and used their granary to help the village. Many were thus saved. People called the fields of his family the Fields of Life Extension.⁷⁶

Those unselfish families are remembered alongside with more revolutionary or righteous activists such as in the first example below. Others are noted for their compassion and courage.

828

屬歲早儉，人至相食，楚均富贍貧，而無流亡者。

For many years harvests had been affected by droughts. People even ate each other. Chu leveled the properties of the rich to help the poor. No one fled.⁷⁷

1484

已，上言：臣鄉夫歲災傷，人相食，由長吏貪殘，賦役失均。

Subsequently he petitioned the throne: 'For many years disaster has struck my area. People eat each other. This is caused by an unfair system of taxes and service levies created by greedy and cruel senior officials.'⁷⁸

⁷⁴ Fan Ye 范曄, *Hou Hanshu* 後漢書, p. 212. Hongchi was a pond 10 km to the east of Luoyang.

⁷⁵ Shen Yue 沈約, *Songshu* 宋書, p. 2078.

⁷⁶ Xiao Zixian 蕭子顯, *Nan Qishu* 南齊書, p. 522.

⁷⁷ *Jiu Tangshu*, p. 4462.

⁷⁸ Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉, *Mingshi* 明史, p. 4461.

山、陝、河、洛饑民多流鄖、襄，至骨肉相噉，請大發帑庾振濟，消弭他變。
Many of the starving in Shan, Shaan, He and Luo flee to Yun and Xiang. Even
relatives eat each other. I beg you to open the treasury and the granaries on
a grand scale to avoid further upheavals.⁷⁹

The biographies provide many details. In the following three instances there is information about what people ate, how much it cost for those who could pay and also how human flesh was sold and consumed.

衍城內大饑，人相食，米一斗八十萬，皆以人肉雜牛馬而賣之。軍人共於德陽堂前立市，屠一牛得絹三千匹，賣一狗得錢二十萬。皆燠鼠捕雀而食之，至是雀鼠皆盡，死者相枕。
In Yan's city, there was a severe famine. People ate each other. One *dou* of rice cost 800,000 [*qian*]. Everywhere, human flesh mixed with beef and horse meat was sold. Outside the Deyang hall, soldiers set up a market. For a slaughtered cow, they received 3,000 bolts of thin silk and for a dog 200,000 *qian*. Everyone smoked out rats and caught sparrows to eat. When the sparrows and rats were all gone, people lay down and died.⁸⁰

城中食少，糧運阻絕，無以為計，唯煮槐楮、桑葉並紵根、水萍、葛、艾等草及靴、皮帶、觔角等物而食之。人有死者，即取其肉，火別分噉，唯留骸骨。
Within the walls, there were food shortages. Since provisions had been cut off, plans [to alleviate the crisis] could not be made. The only things remaining to be cooked and eaten ranged from scholar tree, paper mulberry and mulberry leaves, *Zhu* roots, duckweed, kudzu [roots], mugwort and such weeds to objects such as boots, leather straps, sinews and horns. When someone died, his flesh was removed to be cooked and eaten in pieces. Only the bones were spared.⁸¹

食糠覈草木敗革皆盡，食死人肉，後乃生食人，至親屬相噉。彥芳、運清部卒公屠人市肆，斤易銀一兩。
When all the chaffs, kernels, grass, wood and wasted leather were eaten up, they ate the flesh of the dead. Later on, people were eaten alive. In the end, relatives ate each other. The troops of Yanfang and Yunqing openly butchered and sold people in a market where one *jin* of flesh could be exchanged for one *liang* of silver.⁸²

Price quotations can be another good indicator of the food scarcity. However, an

⁷⁹ *Mingshi*, p. 4782.

⁸⁰ Wei Shou 魏收 *W. Weishu* 魏書, p. 2185; slightly different version in Li Yanshou 李延壽, *Nanshi* 南史, p. 2004.

⁸¹ Li Boyao 李百藥, *Bei Qishu* 北齊書, p. 281. A slightly different version exists in Li Yanshou 李延壽, *Beishi* 北史, p. 1920. According to Read, *Famine Foods Listed in the Chiu Huang Pen Ts'ao*, the plants are as follows: *Huai* — *Sophora japonica*, *Chu* — *Broussonetia papyrifera*, *Sang* — *Morus alba*, *Zhu* — *Boehmeria nivea*, duckweed (in *Beishi* 水蘊) *Polygonum orientale*, *Ge* — *Pueraria hirsuta*, *Ai* — *Artemisia vulgaris*.

⁸² *Mingshi*, p. 6452.

increased money supply caused by war expenditure may also explain the extreme prices.⁸³

The treatises have many of the one-liners mentioned above. In the treatise on food and money descriptions are similar to the example from 889 above. It is often the state of the whole empire that is discussed. This is not the case in the chapters on the five elements. They are arranged chronologically and refer mostly to a specific point or period in time:

1359

十九年正月至五月，京師大饑，銀一錠得米僅八斗，死者無算。通州民劉五殺其子而食之。保定路草死盈道，軍士掠孱弱以為食。濟南及益都之高苑，莒之蒙陰，河南之孟津、新安、黽池等皆大饑，人相食。

From the first to the fifth month of the 19th year, there was a severe famine in the capital. One *ding* of silver could only buy eight *dou* of rice. The dead were innumerable. Citizen Liu Wu of Tongzhou killed and ate his own son. In Baodinglu those who had starved to death filled the roads. Soldiers caught the weak and ate them. In Jinan and Gaoyuan, Yidu, in Mengyin, Ju and in Mengjin, Xin'an and Minchi, Henan, there was a severe famine. People ate each other.⁸⁴

1704

四十三年春，泰安大饑，人相食，死者枕藉；肥城、東平大饑，人相食；武定、濱州、商河、陽信、利津、霑化饑；兗州、登州大饑，民死大半，至食屋草；昌邑、即墨、掖縣、高密、膠州大饑，人相食。

In the spring of the 43rd year, there was a severe famine in Taian. People ate each other. The dead lay on top of each other. In Feicheng and Dongping, there was a severe famine. People ate each other. In Wuding, Binzhou, Shanghe, Yangxin, Lijin and Zhanhua, there were famines. In Yanzhou and Dengzhou, there was a severe famine and more than half the population died. Even thatch was eaten. In Changyi, Jimo, Yexian, Gaomi and Yaozhou, there was a severe famine. People ate each other.⁸⁵

Careful details of time and space are given, together with other factors indicating the gravity of the situation. The neutrality of their statistical character is enhanced by the fact that they are not used directly to declare misrule or to suggest policy changes. From *Xin Tangshu* to *Qingshi gao* occurrences of cannibalism are found in the five elements chapters as chronologically listed observations. The causes are natural disasters such as floods, droughts, locusts and unspecified famine.⁸⁶

In the treatise on astronomy, cannibalism is mentioned as either a result or, more commonly, a prophesied result of a celestial aberration.

⁸³ The astronomical prices should not be discounted as fictional. In one case in the appendix a price fall is quoted after relief is transported to the starving. For more on the connection between famine and prices see Jordan, *The Great Famine*, pp. 43–60.

⁸⁴ *Yuanshi*, p. 1110.

⁸⁵ *Qingshi gao*, p. 1650.

⁸⁶ For causes of famine consult Mallory, *China Land of Famine*, and Harrison, ed., *Famine*.

元興元年四月辛丑，月奄辰星。七月，大饑，人相食。

In the fourth month of the first year of the Yuanxing reign, on the *xinchou* day, the moon eclipsed Mercury. In the seventh month, there was a severe famine. People ate each other.⁸⁷

一曰，流星有光，見人面，墜無音，若有足者，名曰天狗。其色白，其中黃，黃如遺火狀。主候兵討賊，見則四方相射，千里破軍殺將。或曰，五將鬥，人相食，所往之鄉有流血。

Some say that when a meteor is so radiant that people's faces become visible in the night and when it falls soundlessly, looking as if it had legs, it should be recognized as the Celestial Canine. Its colour is white with yellow in the middle. Yellow like the traces left by fire. The rulers will employ soldiers to exterminate rebels. Upon contact, arrows will be fired in all directions. Within 1,000 *li*, armies will be destroyed and generals killed. Others say that the five generals will fight, people eat each other and no matter what village one might go to there will be blood flowing.⁸⁸

狼一星，在東井東南。狼為野將，主侵掠。色有常，不欲變動也。角而變色動搖，盜賊萌，胡兵起，人相食。

The Wolf, a solitary star, is found south-east of the Eastern Well. The Wolf is the star of the rebel commanders and controls their campaigns. When its colours are normal, it does not wish to change or move. If horns of light begin to protrude and it changes colour and shimmers; bandits will multiply, barbarian troops will rebel and people will eat each other.⁸⁹

The last two accounts are not dated. They indicate that not only natural disasters but also seemingly man-made disasters such as war and banditry under special conditions, as exemplified by the appearance of the Celestial Canine, emanate from heaven.

The following quotes from the *Mingshi* 明史 biographies display how the listings in the treatises were sometimes summarized:

1524

自去年六月迄今二月，其間天鳴者三，地震者三十八，皇冬雷電雨雹十八，暴風、白氣、地裂、山崩、產妖各一，民饑相食二。

From the sixth month of last year until now, the second month, there have been three celestial calls, thirty-eight earthquakes, instances of bad weather with thunder, lightning, rain and have occurred eighteen times during the autumn and winter, one case each of violent winds, white mists, terrestrial cracks, avalanches and abnormal births and two cases of people eating each other of starvation.⁹⁰

1614

且山東大祲，人相食，黃河水稽天，兼以太白經天，輔星湛沒，熒惑襲月，金水愆行，或日光無芒，日月同暈，為恆風，為枯旱。

Shandong has also been afflicted by severe calamities such as people eating each other, the waters of the Huanghe rising to the heavens, Venus crossing the sky, the *Fu* star disappearing, Mars infringing on the moon, Venus and

⁸⁷ Fang Xuanling 房玄齡, *Jinshu* 晉書, p. 350.

⁸⁸ This passage is found in both *Jinshu*, p. 329 and in Wei Zheng 魏徵, *Suishu* 隋書, p. 575.

⁸⁹ *Suishu*, pp. 552–53. 'The Wolf' corresponds to Sirius.

⁹⁰ *Mingshi*, p. 5062.

Mercury leaving their normal paths, the sun shining without rays, and the sun and the moon having the same halo. These have caused the prevailing winds and droughts.⁹¹

While the first seems to be a list of oddities of the kind usually listed in the five elements chapters, and the second of oddities found in the treatise on astronomy, cannibalism is found in both. These accounts show how cannibalism under certain circumstances can be analyzed as one among many disasters or oddities afflicting the empire. With the unification of China, cannibalism became a cause for concern rather than a display of heroic behaviour in times of crisis. Instead of giving awe-struck responses to reports of cannibalism, officials were blamed for their ignorance and the emperor was personally involved in decisions aimed at alleviating general suffering. It is important to note that before the Han dynasty natural disasters were only recorded sporadically, without reference to their impact on the people. Then, suddenly, all sorts of disasters and oddities, including cannibalism, were written down in a usually rather monotonous and seemingly detached manner, largely without explanatory details or comments.

Chronological distribution

During long periods of unity, the distribution of starvation cannibalism follows a certain pattern. War-related cannibalism occurs in the first few years. To some extent this can be regarded as a further effect of the fall of a dynasty. These initial years are followed by fifty to sixty years that are almost devoid of cannibalism. Thereafter, it appears with increasing frequency. Until the closing years of the dynasty, natural disasters such as droughts, locusts and floods provide the background for cannibalism. During short dynasties and periods of division, accounts of starvation cannibalism are frequently reported in clusters towards the end and the major cause is war. These depictions generally lack celestial references. There are a few plausible explanations to these patterns. One that unfortunately is not very plausible is that the accounts are an exact representation of reality. In 1950, Hans Bielenstein discovered a congruence between the recorded solar eclipses in relation to the by modern computation observable ones and all recorded portents other than solar eclipses. This would mean that during certain periods cannibalism was likelier to be memorialized or invented than during others.

According to Bielenstein, the ratio of memorialized solar eclipses to observable ones was highest when unpopular rulers occupied the throne.⁹² Unfortunately, the impossibility of estimating popularity is, as Joseph Needham points out, a weakness in Bielenstein's argument.⁹³ For instance, in a follow-up article Bielenstein explains that the surprisingly small number of recorded portents during the reign of Wang Mang, traditionally considered an usurper (i.e. a ruler expected to be bombarded with portents), was due to the fact that he was 'an accomplished politician who

⁹¹ *Mingshi*, p. 6629.

⁹² Bielenstein, 'An Interpretation of the Portents in the Ts'ien-Han shu.'

⁹³ Needham, *Science & Civilisation in China*, vol. III, *Mathematics and the Sciences of the Heavens and the Earth*, p. 418.

certainly had no illusions about the technique of indirect criticism.⁹⁴ This may have been the case, but what Wang Mang's reign shows on a more general level is that portents sometimes were not used as indirect criticism or post-dynastic vilification devices. During certain reigns, the voice of Heaven could simply not be used for criticism, no matter how incompetent the ruler.

When could it not be used? If Bielenstein had looked beyond the Eastern Han dynasty he would have found, as did Yao Shan-yu, that '[...] it is true, on the whole, that long and unified dynasties have larger frequencies [of floods and droughts] than do short and disunified ones.'⁹⁵ Is this because rulers during these periods were accomplished politicians without illusions about the technique of indirect criticism? Almost certainly not. Why would rulers of short dynasties be more clear-sighted in this matter, and moreover have this characteristic in common, than rulers during the latter parts of long dynasties? Is it not more likely that there is a shift in beliefs when a dynasty has ruled for a certain period of time?

Michael Loewe explains that portents began to be recorded only after 50 years of the Western Han dynasty had passed because 'a new view was taken of the miracles wrought on earth and amongst men, as the consequences of an all-embracing order of nature [...]. The emperor's authority had won a new respect which derived not from the results of conquest by force, but from the legitimate power bestowed by a superior.'⁹⁶ On why the idea of a heavenly mandate was not used frequently during the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods he writes 'These were times when no single leader could effectively claim to exercise undisputed rule; and at such times an assertion that heaven's mandate was essential for kingship would have become difficult to sustain and subject to ridicule.'⁹⁷

What the material examined in this part shows is that periods of few portents such as Wang Mang's reign and the beginning of the Han are not unique. It is a pattern that repeats itself over and over again throughout history. Two thousand years later, Sterling Seagrave sensuously describes the Qing as going through the same process after occupying the throne for a period of time, 'After washing off the lingering smell of horse sweat, the Manchu had cloaked themselves with borrowed Confucian virtue and styled themselves the saviours of Confucian civilisation [...].'⁹⁸ When sinologists identify this process, they usually focus on foreign dynasties and use the word 'sinification' to describe it. In analyses of Chinese dynasties, the same process is accredited to a certain emperor advocating Confucianism. If the pattern described above is acknowledged, instead of hailing *Wudi* for his Confucian reforms, the Han dynasty should simply be seen as the first time China was unified for a comparatively long period of time.

To summarize, at the beginning of dynasties, during short dynasties and periods of division, natural disaster-related cannibalism is not recorded no matter how unpopular the reign is among contemporary officials or later historians. Then, as

⁹⁴ Bielenstein, 'Han Portents and Prognostications,' 102.

⁹⁵ Yao Shan-yu 姚善友, 'The Chronological and Seasonal Distribution of Floods and Droughts in Chinese History,' 275.

⁹⁶ Loewe, *Chinese Ideas of Life and Death: Faith, Myth, and Reason in the Han Period*, p. 3.

⁹⁷ Ibid, p. 152.

⁹⁸ Seagrave, *Dragon Lady*, p. 198.

time passes, the dynasty's legitimacy shifts from being vested in military power to having divine approval. After this, signs in nature are, when needed, used to criticize the order of the day.

Geographical distribution

Starvation-related cannibalism mostly occurs within the boundaries of the traditional 'famine belt', e.g. within a triangular area with Peking, Shanghai and Chengdu as its corners. It has been most common in areas corresponding to modern Shaanxi, Shanxi, Hebei, Shandong, Jiangsu and Henan, less common in Gansu, Hubei, Liaoning, Anhui, Sichuan, Jiangxi, and Zhejiang. It has been very rare in Guizhou, Xinjiang, Inner Mongolia and Yunnan and nonexistent in Heilongjiang, Jilin, Tibet, Qinghai, Ningxia, Hunan, Guangxi, Guangdong, Hainan, Fujian and Taiwan. It is thus in densely Han-populated areas under tight imperial control that cannibalism most often is said to occur. The size of the areas referred to varies from 'all under heaven' to small towns. The cities mentioned most are the capitals located in the vicinity of modern Xi'an, Luoyang and Peking.

Reliability and accuracy

How reliable are these observations? Denis Twitchett gives the following judgement of the reliability of the *Histories* in general: 'The historians slanted the record by the selection of what to include, and even more by what they chose to omit. For all the political pressures under which they worked, and for all the straight-jacket of orthodoxy to which they were forced to conform, they were scrupulously accurate regarding those things they chose to record.'⁹⁹ Fortunately, this is supported by accuracy studies using astronomical observations. For instance, during the Western Han dynasty, 55 solar eclipses were recorded. Of these only 3 are regarded as impossible to identify by modern computation. 28 eclipses which should have been visible were not recorded.¹⁰⁰ The situation is similar for recordings of other astronomical phenomena.¹⁰¹ Recordings were accurate when made, but when absent, this does not mean that the phenomena did not occur.

Harder to agree on is Twitchett's intimation that historians by their omissions generally slanted the records for personal or political purposes. It is very possible that this bias has been exaggerated. Homer H. Dubs examines the treatment of Wang Mang and Emperor Wu and concludes: 'The extraordinarily high Confucian ideal of historical accuracy has kept the best Chinese sources up to a high standard of reliability.'¹⁰² To be sure, there are indeed omissions, but as has already been suggested in the above it was notably when the whole line of thinking about power as

⁹⁹ Twitchett, 'Introduction,' in *The Cambridge History of China*, vol. 3, *Sui and T'ang China, Part 1*, eds. Twitchett and Fairbank, p. 47.

¹⁰⁰ Needham, p. 418.

¹⁰¹ See Eddy, 'Uses of Ancient Data in Modern Astronomy,' pp. 253–59 and Zhang Pei-yu, 'The Identification and Accuracy Study of Lunar Eclipse Records in Ancient China,' 347–58.

¹⁰² Dubs, 'The Reliability of Chinese Histories,' 43.

bestowed by heaven was out of fashion that these observations failed to be included. In other words, such observations were omitted or possibly not even made because they were deemed uninteresting and served no function at the time.

Since it is impossible, as Bielenstein also has shown, to estimate the actual number of occurrences by looking at the amount of recorded occurrences, the descriptions of starvation-related cannibalism presented in the *Histories*, however accurate, should be regarded as only part of the whole picture and should not be used for statistical estimates of actual prevalence.

Many researchers deal with these accounts very briefly and with a great deal of caution. Jonathan Spence writes that in the local gazetteers the phrase 'people ate each other' was meant as a metaphor.¹⁰³ Donald Sutton warns that the expression '[...] was no doubt often figurative, and works that take such expressions at face value should be treated with suspicion.'¹⁰⁴ Suspicion is, as Arens has shown, indeed a quality in demand when dealing with cannibalism. Sutton, however, applies it when he encounters hundreds of cases of starvation-related cannibalism and not when he is dealing with antiquity. One of his references for the ancient cases is actually Chong, who certainly can be accused of always taking the expression at face value. In other words, Sutton is suspicious when there is an abundance of cannibalism in the texts and not when there are only a few cases of a very dubious character.

In research done on medieval European sources further attempts have been made to explain the expressions. Ian Kershaw calls them '[r]umours of cannibalism' and that these rumours '[...] may have been exaggerated but they testify to the stark horror which this period of extreme famine impressed upon the memories of contemporaries.'¹⁰⁵ Julia Marvin is perhaps the only one to have dealt at some length with these questions. She compares descriptions of famine in the annals of Bermondsey and in the Bible and finds peculiar similarities. In both the starving eat their children and pigeon's dung. What 'pigeon's dung' meant in the Bible has been debated but 'the writer of the Bermondsey book, in a day when the dung was thought to have served as food, has not only taken it literally but transplanted and represented its consumption as a fourteenth century event, one so outrageous that it can have no basis but the literary one.' The reappearance of the Biblical dung 'is a reminder to exercise caution when consulting the annal for factual information, for the last thing it means is that people really ate bird droppings, much less each other.' Is *xiangshi* also a metaphor? Can Mencius be said to play the role of the Bible in Chinese sources? Marvin's case is very convincing—at least when it comes to pigeon's dung. But why does her reasoning extend to cannibalism? Marvin explains that she does not wish to imply that all the common themes in narratives of famine are really or primarily literary. Prices do rise. What she argues is that some of the topoi may originate entirely in texts rather than events, and that they may affect other historical narratives as clearly as they do the annals of Bermondsey.¹⁰⁶

Perhaps Marvin's reasoning is applicable on the *yi zi er shi* cases. The words have a very strong connection to a certain event and are later on used to describe hard-

¹⁰³ Spence, 'Ch'ing,' in Chang, p. 261.

¹⁰⁴ Sutton, 'Consuming Counterrevolution,' 149.

¹⁰⁵ Kershaw, 'The great famine and agrarian crisis in England 1315-1322,' pp. 9-10.

¹⁰⁶ Marvin, 'Cannibalism and Kingship: The Narrative Art of Medieval Historiography.

ships of a similar magnitude. The *xiangshi* cases however are, as pointed out earlier, found in an environment of high precision. There is also a wealth of them. They are sometimes counted: 'two cases of people eating each other'. One such example dates from as late as 1910. Would metaphors be found in an environment of high precision? Probably yes. Would a metaphor be used repeatedly in an environment of high precision? Probably yes. Would they be counted? Only if there was a clear-cut difference between the cases described with the metaphor and those without. Would there be any doubt that the metaphor was a metaphor? Of course not. Could the knowledge that this was obviously a metaphor have disappeared between 1910 and now? Absolutely not. The cautious conclusion must be that the expression is generally not used as a metaphor. If they are not truthful depictions of reality it is much likelier that they are, as Kershaw points out, exaggerations. The difference is that they, as opposed to the metaphor, claim to portray the truth literally.

From starvation to cannibalism

As seen in the accounts, cannibalism was resorted to only in times of extreme famine after various less edible matter had been consumed. Before speculating about the causes, it should therefore be noted that the aversion towards cannibalism was great and that it was always rare—the vast majority of famine accounts in the *Histories* lack references to cannibalism. Famines, however, were not rare. In fact, their high frequency made people accumulate very detailed knowledge about how to deal with them. As K.C. Chang puts it: 'The Chinese peasants know every edible plant in their environment, and plants there are many. [...] The knowledge of these 'famine plants' was carefully handed down as a living culture—apparently this knowledge was not placed in dead storage too long or too often.'¹⁰⁷ The knowledge about food substitution must not only have included the first measures to take but also the last. In the accounts, cannibalism was neither encouraged nor condemned—it was seen as a pitiable method of coping with a life-threatening situation. The suggestion here is that the mere awareness of historical precedents and the way they were judged by history eased people's aversion toward eating human flesh and made them take the final step rather than accept death. Favourable sanitary conditions, especially the habit of boiling water and cooking edibles, in combination with this 'famine culture', brought about a protracted process of starving leading to a moral breakdown. According to Robert Dirks, social response to famine develop in three phases. The first 'alarm phase' can be described as a 'disaster utopia' of 'general hyperactivity and intensified feelings of attachment'. This 'social environment of extraordinarily intense mutual care and assistance' is followed by the 'resistance phase' marked by 'social atomisation'—care and assistance is only rendered within the household. 'Generosity disappears; supplies are hidden; food preparation and consumption take place in secret. Visits from relatives and friends arouse suspicion and may be considered as unfriendly acts.' During the last phase, 'exhaustion', the household

¹⁰⁷ K. C. Chang, p. 9. To see just how detailed this knowledge was consult Zhu Su's 朱肱 15th century work *Jiuhuang bencao* 救耗本草, in *Wenyuange siku quanshu* 文淵閣四庫全書, pp. 609–860. Of its list of 414 famines food plants 358 have been identified by Read. See too Becker, *Hungry Ghosts*, p. 168.

disintegrates: 'There is a distinct tendency to see the elderly as a drain on provisions. Tolerance toward younger dependents does not erode as quickly, but generally there comes a point when children too receive disproportionately small amounts of food.'¹⁰⁸

Jasper Becker describes what happens if the whole process is quicker: 'In tropical countries and especially among refugees living in camps, famine victims in this state [the first stage of starvation] are often carried away by disease before they reach the stage of terminal starvation.'¹⁰⁹ But the Chinese keep disease at bay, know what to substitute their everyday food with and thus stay alive longer. Zhang Xianliang, who managed to write a diary during his days in a *laogai* camp during the Great Leap Forward, described his situation as '[...] poverty-stricken, devoid of content, leading to poverty-of-thinking syndrome. Every day tasteless labour, turning people's spirit into something more and more base.'¹¹⁰ The last chapter of his book is about the last stage of starvation: 'Truly unthinkable, terrifying behaviour comes not from a loss of reason, however, but from loss of the ability to feel emotion. [...] When a man feels a measure of love for this world, his reason and intellect can be put to good use. The moment he loses that feeling, he loses any concern for people. He ceases to bear any responsibility for society. On an impulse, he will do things that ordinary people cannot comprehend. Labour reform does not make a man lose all human feeling. Hunger does.'¹¹¹ Dirks shows that these are not just Zhang's own impressions but the way the human psyche reacts during starvation: 'Whereas the intellect remains largely unimpaired, the emotions are greatly affected. [...] Victims think only of their diseased condition and food.'¹¹² The *Encyclopædia Britannica* points out the connection between the one-track mind of the famine victim and cannibalism: 'The mind is dominated by a desire for food. Other emotions are dulled; moral standards are lowered and in extreme conditions murder and cannibalism may occur.'¹¹³

It would be unfair to conclude this part on the correlation between the availability of food and the preservation of common morality without giving credit to the Classics. Astonishingly, much of what is quoted from modern works above can be found in Mencius. He knew of such details as the elderly being the first to not eat meat during food shortages and that famine scatters families. He also knew that Confucian virtues could not be attained without enough food and that without the virtues, people would eat each other. Again we quote:

When righteousness and benevolence are stopped up, beasts will be led on to devour men, and men will devour one another.¹¹⁴

¹⁰⁸ Dirks, 'Famine and Disease,' in *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease*, pp. 158–59.

¹⁰⁹ Becker, p. 198.

¹⁰¹ Zhang Xianliang 張賢亮, 'Fannao jiushi zhihui' 煩惱就是智慧 (Wisdom through adversity), *Xiaoshuo jie* 小說界, 5 (1992), 77. Translation from *Grass Soup*, London: Minerva, 1994, p. 208.

¹¹¹ Ibid, p. 82. Translation from *Grass Soup*, p. 227.

¹¹² Dirks, p. 158. The brain is also the only organ physiologically unaffected by famine. When other organs lose 40-60% of their weight the brain loses less than five (Rivers, 'The nutritional biology of famine,' p. 83).

¹¹³ *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 1973 ed.

¹¹⁴ Legge, vol. II, p. 283, (his trans.).

2b. Desecrating cannibalism

23

傳莽首詣更始縣宛市，百姓共提擊之，或切食其舌。

Mang's head was sent to Gengshi and hung up in the marketplace at Yuan.

The common people threw things at it and hit it. Some cut out and ate his tongue.¹¹⁵

Wang Mang's gruesome fate marks the beginning of a new setting for cannibalism. Whereas hunger was the emotion that brought about the act earlier, hatred, or a will to desecrate, triggers cannibalism in the example from the end of Wang Mang's interregnum. Physical destruction of corpses is, as mentioned already, in no way unknown in history books prior to Wang Mang but now cannibalism appears as a form of extreme violence. Just as great emphasis has been placed in China on keeping the body intact—the *Liji* even recommends placing lost hair and teeth in the coffin with the dead—and a belief in the correlation between the well-being of the dead and the well-being of the descendants has existed, so there has been ample room for punishments to extend beyond death.¹¹⁶ In the following I discuss the descriptions of cannibalism as a method of destruction.

The accounts

Political vengeance

The will to desecrate is what sets these accounts apart from those in the preceding part. People are eaten to avenge an act committed towards a person or a collective. The settings vary widely. The most common are of an official character, the actors known to large groups of people and the outcome of the event described assuming political importance.

319

石季龍攻陷徐龕，送之襄國，勒囊盛於百尺樓自上暴殺之，令步都等妻子剝而食之，坑龕降卒三千。

Shi Jilong captured Xu Kan and sent him to Xiangguo where Le had him bagged and killed by throwing him from a 100 feet tall tower. The wives and children of Budu and the others were ordered to cut him to pieces and eat him up. The 3,000 surrendered soldiers of Kan's were killed.¹¹⁷

The above example is of the official kind. The whole chain of events are followed

¹¹⁵ *Hanshu*, p. 4192.

¹¹⁶ *Liji* 禮記, in *Shisanjing zhushu* 十三經注疏, p. 1583.

¹¹⁷ *Jinshu*, p. 2739. 暴 should have a *shou* 手 radical to the left and be pronounced *bo*.

by large groups of people and the implications are political. The killing of a general and his men is avenged by killing and eating the perpetrator and killing or executing his men. The perpetrator of the first crime is eaten by the relatives of the victims. The following three are of the same character.

396

後劉裕左里捷，生擒猛，送琰小子混，混剖肝生食之。

Afterwards, on Liu Yu's victory at Zuoli, Meng was captured alive and given to Yan's youngest son Hun, who carved out his liver and ate it raw.¹¹⁸

403

於是賜紹母子死，誅帳下閹官、宮人為內應者十數人，其先犯乘輿者，群臣於城南都街生鬻割而食之。

Then he let Shao and his mother commit suicide. Of the eunuchs and palace attendants among his staff he executed over ten traitors. Those who had attacked his carriage first were cut to pieces alive and eaten by a group of officials in the streets south of the wall.¹¹⁹

532

智通子敞之割炙食之，即載出新亭，四面火炙之焦熟，敞車載錢設鹽蒜，雇百姓食撒一饔，賞錢一千。徒黨并母肉遂盡。

Zhitong's son Changzhi butchered, roasted and ate [a slice of] him. Thereupon he was transported out of Xinting. Along with the thoroughly roasted body, Chang's cart also carried money, salt and garlic. People were hired to eat one slice of Che's flesh for a reward of 1,000 *qian*. The flesh of his cronies and his mother then followed.¹²⁰

What many of these accounts have in common is that the eating is made possible by someone other than the eaters. In the last example the eaters seem somewhat reluctant and have to be coaxed with money to take part in the desecration. This is rather the exception to the rule. More often there seem to be a whole mob of vengeful people fighting (*zheng* 爭) with each other to take part. In the next examples the state and the mob work closely together.

552

至壺豆洲，前太子舍人羊鯤殺之，送屍于王僧辯。傳首西臺。曝屍於建康市，百姓爭取屠膾噉食，焚骨揚灰。曾罹其禍者，乃以灰和酒飲之。及景首至江陵，世祖命梟之於市，然後煮而漆之，付武庫。

On arrival at Hudouzhou, Yang Kun, the attendant of the first prince, killed him and sent his corpse to Wang Sengbian. The head was sent to the Secretariat. When his corpse was exposed in the marketplace of Jiankang the common people fought to eat the butchered body, burnt the bones and scattered the ashes. Those who had suffered from his evils mixed his ashes with wine and drank them. And when Jing's head reached Jiangling, Emperor Shizu ordered its exposure in the marketplace. Later it was boiled and lacquered and handed over to the Armory.¹²¹

¹¹⁸ *Jinshu*, p. 2079.

¹¹⁹ Found in both *Weishu*, p. 390 and *Beishi*, p. 590.

¹²⁰ *Nanshi*, p. 1323.

¹²¹ Yao Silian 姚思廉, *Liangshu* 梁書, p. 862. In *Nanshi*, p. 2016–17, Jing's hands are cut off and his stomach filled with salt. In the marketplace he is eaten in the form of a thick soup (*geng* 羹).

獲處球、處瑾、處琪并其母，及同惡高濛、李翥、齊儉等，皆折足送行臺，鎮人請舂而食之，發張文禮尸，磔於市。

They seized Chuqiu, Chujin and Chuqi together with their mother and also equally hated persons such as Gao Meng, Li Zhu and Qi Jian. After their feet were broken they were taken to the Branch Department of State Affairs. There the people of Zhen asked that they be chopped to pieces and eaten. Zhang Wenli's body was exhumed and dismembered in the marketplace.¹²²

耶律德光至京師，聞劫掠，怒，鎖之。高勳亦自訴於德光，德光以其狀示百官及都人，問：「彥澤當誅否？」百官皆請不赦，而都人爭投狀疏其惡，乃命高勳監殺之。彥澤前所殺士大夫子孫，皆綴經杖哭，隨而詬詈，以杖朴之，彥澤俛首無一言。行至北市，斷腕出鎖，然後用刑，勳剖其心祭死者，市人爭破其腦，取其髓，饔其肉而食之。

嗚呼，晉之事醜矣，而惡亦極也！其禍亂覆亡之不暇，蓋必然之理爾。使重威等雖不叛以降虜，亦未必不亡；然開虜之隙，自一景延廣，而卒成晉禍者，此三人也。視重威、彥澤之死，而晉人所以甘心者，可以知其憤疾怨怒於斯人者，非一日也。至於爭已戮之尸，饔其肉，剔其髓而食之，擗裂蹈謗，斯須而盡，何其甚哉！此自古未有也。然當是時，舉晉之兵皆在北面，國之存亡，繫此三人之勝敗，則其任可謂重矣。蓋天下惡之如彼，晉方任之如此，而終以不悟，豈非所謂臨亂之君，各賢其臣者歟？

When Yelü Deguang arrived in the capital and heard of Yanze's raids he was furious and had Yanze incarcerated. Gao Xun also set his personal grievances before Deguang. Deguang showed his accusation to all his officials as well as the city's inhabitants and asked: 'Should Yanze be punished?' All the officials appealed to him not to pardon him. The inhabitants vied with each other to hand in presentations stating his evils. After this, Gao Xun was ordered to supervise the execution. The children and grandchildren of the officials killed by Yanze all donned coarse mourning garment, carried staffs, cried, shouted abuse and hit him with their staffs as they followed him to the market. Yanze hung down his head and did not utter one word. When they arrived at the northern market they released him from his shackles by cutting off his wrists. Then his punishment was executed. Xun carved out his heart as a sacrifice to the dead, people at the market rushed to break his skull and extract his brain, cut his flesh to pieces and eat it.

Alas! Ugly are the matters of the Jin, and exceedingly evil as well! Ceaseless interior disorder becomes the only inevitable principle. If Chongwei and the others had not surrendered to the barbarians it is still uncertain whether the Jin would have survived. But when the barbarians were first given a foothold by Jing Yanguang, these three people finally brought about the fall of Jin. If we look at Chongwei's and Yanze's deaths and the appeasement of the Jin people we can understand that the anger towards these men was not built up in a day. As for assaulting a corpse, cutting its flesh to pieces, picking out its brain and eating it, pulling at it and stomping upon it, obliterating it in a moment; why these extremes? Since ancient times there has not been anything like it. However, at this time when all the armed forces of Jin were stationed in the north and the destiny of the country was tied to the wins or losses of these three men it can certainly be said that their responsibility was heavy. When the world hated them like that and the Jin still trusted them like this without coming to their senses even in the bitter end, is it not a case of leaders on the verge of chaos putting too much faith in their ministers?¹²³

¹²² Xue Juzheng 薛居正, *Jiu Wudaishi* 舊五代史, p. 402. A slightly different version exists in *Jiu Wudaishi*, p. 831. In Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修, *Xin Wudaishi* 新五代史, p. 415, people ask that he be chopped to pieces only.

¹²³ *Xin Wudaishi*, pp. 600–01. Case also mentioned in *Jiu Wudaishi*, pp. 1307–08.

As a discussion on desecration involving cannibalism, the above account is very rare, possibly the only one in the *Histories*. This may be because although people were killed, mauled and eaten and the historian found their treatment 'extreme' (*shen* 甚) he seems to arrive at the conclusion that it was justified, considering their crimes. As with other punishments, a discussion is only found when they are regarded as too harsh or too abundantly applied. In this case the historian thought the punishment was close to being too harsh and then added a discussion on the crimes committed to justify the desecration.

1234

乃梟立首，望承天門祭哀宗。伯淵以下軍民皆慟，或剖其心生噉之。以三尸挂闕前槐樹上，樹忽拔，人謂樹有靈亦厭其為所汙。

As a sacrifice to Emperor Aizong, Li's head was exposed facing the Chengtian Gate. Bo Yuan and his underlings were all very affected. Someone cut out his heart and ate it raw. The three bodies were hung up in a Huai-tree outside the watchtower of the gate. Suddenly the tree tipped over. People said that there was a spirit in the tree that detested its whereabouts being polluted.¹²⁴

The last example of this sub-group is a slightly different and can also serve as an introduction to the next group. Hatred, or hatred extinguished by vengeance, is not the only feeling lingering over the scene of desecration. People are affected. Even a tree spirit sanctions the deed done, in what is possibly a humourous twist at the end.

Personal vengeance

589

於是夜發其陵，剖棺，見陳武帝鬚並不落，其本皆出自骨中。頒遂焚骨取灰，投水而飲之。既而自縛，歸罪於晉王。

Thereupon he went at night to his grave. When he broke the coffin he found that the beard of Emperor Wu of Chen had still not fallen off; the roots of the hairs all protruded from the bones. Ban then burned the bones, collected the ashes, threw them in water and drank it. Finally he tied himself up and returned to report his crime to the king of Jin.¹²⁵

The first case in this group is about an emperor being desecrated, and it might also have been placed in the previous category. It is about a son who avenges his father's death by molesting the corpse of the murderer, Emperor Wu of Chen. However, the case is included in the *Histories* among the biographies devoted to the filial and righteous (*Xiaoyi liezhuan* 孝義列傳) and not as an event of direct political implications. It could have been used as propaganda by the ruling Sui dynasty, but its inclusion has more to do with the act than with the actors, as seen in the next example.

627

王君操，萊州即墨人也。其父隋大業中與鄉人李君則門競，因被毆殺。君操時年六歲，其母劉氏告縣收捕，君則棄家亡命，追訪數年弗獲。貞觀初，君則自以世代遷革，不慮國刑，又見君操孤微，謂其無復讎之志，遂詣州府自

¹²⁴ Tuotuo 脫脫, *Jinshi* 金史, p. 2530.

¹²⁵ *Suishu*, p. 1666.

首。而君操密袖白刃刺殺之，剖腹取其心肝，噉食立盡，詣刺史具自陳告。州司以其擅殺戮，問曰：「殺人償死，律有明文，何方自理，以求生路」對曰：「亡父被殺，二十餘載。聞諸典禮，父讎不可同天。早願圖之，久而未遂，常懼亡滅，不展冤情。今大恥既雪，甘從刑憲。」州司據法處死，列上其狀，太宗特詔原免。

Wang Juncao was a native of Jimo in Laizhou. In the middle of the Daye reign of Sui his father was killed in a fight with a fellow villager named Li Junze. At the time Juncao was six years of age, so his mother, who was of the Liu clan, made a report to the county magistrate for his arrest. Junze left his family and fled. The search went on for many years without his arrest. In the beginning of the Zhenguan reign Junze thought that since the dynasty had changed he no longer had to worry about punishment. And when he considered Juncao's fatherless and miserable condition it told him that he had no will to retaliate, so he set out to the provincial government to give himself up. However, Juncao flashed a knife hidden in his sleeve, stabbed him to death, slit his stomach, grabbed his heart and liver and ate them on the spot. He proceeded to the provincial governor, whom he presented with a report on his case. Because of the unauthorized murder, the provincial manager asked: 'The law is clear that death is the price to be paid for murder. How can you then solve this issue yourself and ask to be pardoned?' He answered: 'More than 20 years ago my late father was murdered. I have heard all the rites say that one cannot share the sky with the enemy of one's father. I have long been unable to fulfil this old wish of mine. I have often feared that death would prevent me from being able to reveal the details of this injustice. This disgrace has now been wiped out and I am willing to comply with the penal law.' The provincial manager sentenced him to death according to the law. After a presentation of the circumstances surrounding the case had been passed on, Emperor Taizong issued a special decree for his pardon.¹²⁶

This case comes from the biographies on the filial and brotherly (*Xiaoyou liezhuan* 孝友列傳). After murdering his father's murderer the death sentence of the filial son is revoked by imperial decree. Many details which serve to convey his character seem to influence the authorities in their decision. He has waited for 20 years without forgetting his father's death. He has read the classics and seems to live according to them. The cannibalism proves his sincerity and passion. Although a law breaker, he shows respect for authority by giving himself in and declaring a will to comply with the penal law. The following three are similar cases only varying in the details. In all of them cannibalism serve as an indicator of genuine passion.

910

至則微服攜鐵櫪，匿居道舍側，伺其出擊之，仆於地，齧其耳噉之，遂禽歸。設父母位，陳酒肴，縛居道於前，號泣鞭之，齧其肉，經三日，剖其心以祭。即詣官首服，官為上請而釋之。燕薊間目為報讎張孝子。

Carrying an iron bar, he arrived in disguise and hid himself at the side of Judao's house. There he waited for him to come out. When he did Zangying struck him so that he fell to the ground and bit off his ear and swallowed it. He then secured him and returned home. He set the ancestral tablets in order, lay out the sacrificial food and wine and tied Judao in front of these. Then he started wailing and whipping him and cutting him to pieces. After three days he cut out his heart and used it as a sacrifice. He then went to the local authorities and gave himself in. The official asked the court for his pardon and he was released. Between Yan and Ji he was regarded as Vengeful Zhang, the filial son.¹²⁷

¹²⁶ *Jiu Tangshu*, p. 4920. See also Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修, *Xin Tangshu* 新唐書, p. 5585.

¹²⁷ Tuotuo 脫脫, *Songshi* 宋史, p. 9290.

1617

揚古利手刃殺父者，割耳鼻生啖之，時年甫十四，太祖深異焉。日見信任，妻以女，號為「額駙」。

Yang Guli stabbed the killer of his father with his own hand, cut off his ears and nose and ate them raw. At the time he was only 14 years old. Emperor Taizu found him very extraordinary. His trust in him grew day by day. He gave him the hand of his daughter and called him the 'imperial son-in-law'.¹²⁸

1644-1661

承恩方與吏耳語，伺其出，以鐵骨朵擊之，仆，急拔刀斷其喉，又抉其睛啖之，詣縣自陳，出所藏銀為證。

Cheng'en had just whispered his plan to the officials, when Xianheng, who had waited for him to come out, struck him with an iron bar. When Cheng'en fell over, Xianheng pulled out his knife and slit Cheng'en's throat. He also scooped out an eye and ate it before leaving to give himself in at the magistrate's office. He brought with him the hidden silver as evidence.¹²⁹

Bravery

This group differ from the previous in that they are not about vengeance, or at least not vengeance on a personal level. The cannibalism is here part of the slaying of an enemy, and is perpetrated by soldiers during a battle. The act does not seem to be judged morally but rather enhances the view of slaying as a feat of bravery and, as in the previous group, passion.

529

大將軍蕭寶夤西討，德廣為行臺郎，募眾而征，戰捷，乃手刃仇人，啖其肝肺。

When General-in-Chief Xiao Baoyin set out on a punitive campaign to the west, Deguang served as director of the branch department of state affairs. He raised troops for an expedition, won the battle, cut down an enemy with his own hands and ate his liver and lungs.¹³⁰

1621

賊遣使說降，盡倫大怒，手刃賊使，抉其睛啖之，屢挫賊鋒，城獲全。

The rebels sent a messenger to persuade them to surrender. This infuriated Jin to the extent that he cut the messenger down, scooped out an eye ball and swallowed it. By repeatedly repelling the vanguard of the rebels, the city never fell.¹³¹

Punishments

Here, the cannibalism is not approved of. There is no loyalty or piety involved and the often powerful person enabling it is seen as immoral and excessive.

¹²⁸ *Qingshi gao*, p. 9191.

¹²⁹ *Qingshi gao*, p. 13785.

¹³⁰ *Beishi*, p. 3323.

¹³¹ *Mingshi*, p. 7445.

554

是役也，有都督戰傷，其什長路暉禮不能救，帝命剖其五藏，使九人分食之，肉及穢惡皆盡。自是始行威虐。

During this campaign, when the commander-in-chief was wounded in battle and File Leader Lu Huili could not come to his rescue, the emperor ordered that his five viscera be cut out. The other nine in his file were forced to divide and eat him, until every last piece of him was gone. From then on the reign of terror began.¹³²

559

自六年之後，帝遂以功業自矜，恣行酷暴，昏狂酗垂，任情喜怒。為大鑊、長鋸、送碓之屬，並陳於庭，意有不快，則手自屠裂，或命左右鬻噉，以逞其意。

From the sixth year on, the achievements made the emperor more and more conceited. He became reckless, cruel and oppressive, befuddled by voracious drinking and had passionate mood swings. He used the great cauldron, the long saw, the cut and crush kind of punishments and he also carried them out at court. If he still was not satisfied he would personally butcher, or order those present to cut and eat the flesh of the victim to please himself.¹³³

728

思昂縛架之數日，乃探取其心，截去手足，割肉而啖之，其殘酷如此。

Sixu tied him to a rack for a number of days, then carved out his heart, chopped off his hands and feet and cut his flesh into pieces and ate them. This is how cruel he was.¹³⁴

948

掌禁軍時，左右有犯罪者，召其妻子，對之鬻割，令自食其肉；或從足支解至首，血流盈前，而命樂對酒，無仁愍之色。

When he was in charge of the Imperial Army and someone had committed a crime, he would summon the wife and children of the offender, cut him to pieces in front of them and order the man to eat his own flesh. He dismembered some from head to foot, and while blood gushed forward he ordered music and wine, showing no trace of compassion.¹³⁵

Sometimes a similar punishment may be approved of. The criminal is then a rebel and the punisher is, as above, a man of political power.

614

斛斯政之罪，天地所不容，人神所同忿。若同常刑，賊臣逆子何以懲肅，請變常法。帝許之。於是將政出金光門，縛政於柱，公卿百僚並親擊射，鬻割其肉，多有噉者。噉後烹煮，收其餘骨，焚而揚之。

'Neither in heaven nor on earth is there room for Hu Sizheng's crimes. Mortals and gods are equally angered. If a common punishment is used, how can reverence be instilled among rebels and ministers who disobey you? I beg you to change the method.' The emperor allowed it to be changed. Zheng was then taken out through the Jinguang door, tied to a pillar, shot at by ministers, officials, palace attendants and even relatives, cut to pieces and eaten

¹³² Found in both *Beishi*, pp. 250–51 and *Weishu*, p. 1294.

¹³³ *Suishu*, p. 704.

¹³⁴ *Jiu Tangshu*, p. 4756; slightly different version in *Xin Tangshu*, p. 5857.

¹³⁵ *Jiu Wudaishi*, p. 1386; slightly different version in *Xin Wudaishi*, p. 195.

by many. After being eaten and boiled, his remaining bones were collected, burnt and scattered.¹³⁶

613

及楊玄感反，帝誅之，罪及九族。其尤重者，行轅裂梟首之刑。或磔而射之，命公卿已下，齍噉其肉。

Then Yang Xuangan rebelled. The emperor meted a punishment which extended to the nine generations. The heavily involved were torn asunder by chariots and had their heads exposed. Some were butchered and shot at. Those from the rank of minister down were ordered to cut and eat their flesh.¹³⁷

649

貞觀末，以謀反腰斬。右驍衛大將軍丘行恭探其心肝而食之，太宗聞而召行恭讓之曰：「刑典自有常科，何至於此！必若食逆者心肝為忠孝，則劉蘭之心為太子諸王所食，豈至卿邪？」行恭無以答。

At the end of the Zhenguan reign he was cut in half at the waist for plotting a rebellion. The Right Courageous Guard, General-in-Chief Qiu Xingong, took out and ate his heart and liver. When Taizong heard this he summoned Xingong to reprove him. He said: 'Although there are rules for how punishments should be administered something like this happens! If the hearts and livers of rebels are to be eaten for the sake of loyalty, should not Liu Lan's heart have been eaten by the Heir Apparent or the princes, and not by an official?' Xingong had nothing to answer.¹³⁸

In this case, the sincerity, or rather the motive of the sincerity, of the punisher is questioned. He has overstepped his authority by an inappropriate manifestation of loyalty. However, he is neither punished nor demoted, and the account is simply a depiction of a rebel and his somewhat odd death.

Torture

In this last group cannibalism is a method of torture. The victims, who are of unyielding character, are captured by rebels and coerced through torture to change loyalties. These cases are usually found among the biographies devoted to the filial and righteous or, if the victim is female, in the chapters on heroines (*Lienü liezhuan* 列女列傳). Before death the victim often insults the rebels in a brave and defiant way which enhances the impression of moral superiority.

756

祿山不勝忿，縛之天津橋柱，節解以肉噉之，詈不絕，賊鉤斷其舌，曰：「復能罵否？」杲卿含胡而絕，年六十五。

Lushan could not contain his anger. He tied him to a pillar of the Tianjin bridge, began dismembering him and feeding him with the flesh. He, however, continued shouting abuse. The rebels then cut out his tongue saying: 'Curse us now, if you can.' Mumbling, Gaoqing died, at the age of 65.¹³⁹

¹³⁶ *Suishu*, pp. 1622-23; slightly different version in *Beishi*, p. 1790.

¹³⁷ *Suishu*, p. 717.

¹³⁸ *Jiu Tangshu*, p. 2524.

¹³⁹ *Xin Tangshu*, p. 5531.

104

李廷節妻崔。乾符中，廷節為郟城尉。王仙芝攻汝州，廷節被執。賊見崔姝美，將妻之，詬曰：「我，士人妻，死亡有命，奈何受賊汙？」賊怒，剝其心食之。

Li Tingjie's wife Cui. In the middle of the Qianfu reign, Tingjie was appointed the defender of Jiacheng. During Wang Xianzhi's attack on Ruzhou, Tingjie was caught. When the bandit saw how beautiful Cui was, he wanted to marry her. She cursed him saying: 'I happen to be the wife of an officer. Since death is decided by destiny, why should I accept the defilement of bandits?' In their fury, the bandits cut out her heart and ate it.¹⁴⁰

賊脅使從己，景茂罵曰：「狗盜！我生為大元民，死作隔洲鬼，豈從汝為逆耶！」隔洲，其所居里也。賊怒，縛景茂於樹，齧其肉，使自啖。景茂益憤罵，賊遂以刀決其口，至耳傍，景茂罵不絕聲而死。有司上其事，朝廷命褒表之，仍給錢以葬。

When the bandits tried to force him to join their ranks Jingmao cursed and said: 'Dogs you are! I have lived as a subject of the great Yuan empire, and I will die as the ghost of Gezhou. Why would I join you in your rebellion?' Gezhou was the village he lived in. The bandits were angered, tied Jingmao to a tree, cut his flesh to pieces and made him eat it. Jingmao, who became even more angry, continued cursing them. The bandits then cut his mouth with a knife. On [the blade] reaching his ears Jingmao died without ceasing to curse. An official presented his case to the court and they ordered that insignia of praise should be conferred upon him and also that money be donated to pay for his funeral.¹⁴¹

Chronological distribution

While bodies have been desecrated through physical destruction throughout China's written history, eating human flesh is rare. It is also rarer than the two other predominant forms of cannibalism discussed in this article. The closest example of cannibalism for reasons other than hunger before the desecration of Wang Mang is the account of Robber Zhi and his band feasting on human liver on the slopes of Mount Tai. The next time it occurs, after Wang Mang, is during the Jin (晉) dynasty, 300 years later. Then, after this reappearance, instances become more frequent, reaching a high point during the Five Dynasties. In the thousand years since then, the frequency has dropped greatly. During the Ming and Qing dynasties (543 years) there are altogether seven accounts, while during the Five Dynasties (54 years) there are eleven. Roughly three fourths of all of them occur between the years 317 and 960 and one fourth between 960 and 1911.

Since the accounts are much fewer than those in part 2a it is difficult to discern any chronological pattern within a certain dynasty. Significantly, most occur between the years 317 and 960. As disunity and short dynasties mark the greater part of this period, most cannibalism, as stated in part 2a, involves cases of war-related starvation. It can thus be inferred that vengeance-related cannibalism thrives under the same conditions as war-related starvation cannibalism. It is also explicit in the accounts above that war is never far away. Wang Mang's case, in spite of

¹⁴⁰ *Xin Tangshu*, p. 5830.

¹⁴¹ *Yuanshi*, p. 4388.

its chronological solitude, can therefore also be categorized as an example of vengeance-related cannibalism during a short dynasty that ends in a cluster of war-related starvation cannibalism cases.

During the Tang dynasty, the high rate of desecrating cannibalism continues. This either means that it prevailed in spite of changing conditions or that the conditions of the period preceding the dynasty prevailed. With respect to war, it is probably the latter. While the first half can be regarded as fairly stable, the later half beginning with the An Lushan rebellion is notorious for its turmoil, not least reflected by a deficiency of sources from the tenth century. War continued, and so did cannibalism. The Song dynasty succeeding the period is, on the other hand, traditionally regarded as a period of peace and has only half as many cases as the Tang dynasty.

Geographical distribution

The geographical distribution of these cases is fairly similar to that of the starvation-related ones. Most cases are said to have occurred in the areas corresponding to the modern day provinces of Henan, Hebei and Jiangsu. One difference is that Shandong has comparatively few cases. Another is that the more peripheral provinces, such as those immediately south of Changjiang are represented, albeit with very few cases. The area surrounding the 'triangle' mentioned in the previous part actually has the same amount of cases in absolute figures.

From desecration to cannibalism

Why was cannibalism used to desecrate corpses? That war often brings about excessive brutality hardly needs to be deliberated upon. As stated above, war is a common scene for cannibalism to occur in. This, however, implies only that war triggers cannibalism and not that war provides the idea of cannibalism as a weapon of desecration. This is confirmed by the fact that peace time examples exist, such as those of sons avenging patricide. In antiquity cannibalism was evidently imaginable since it is found in myth-like stories and verbal expressions. Why then, did historians begin to write down these events as actualities involving relatively contemporary people? The reasons could be many. Either because they were happening at the time and had not been earlier or because they had happened all along but that a new importance was now attached to them. An appealing compromise between the two would be that they happened on a larger scale during certain conditions *because* a new importance was attached to them. As will also be discussed in part 2c, the period from the fourth century to the Song dynasty can be characterized as one of Confucian decline. Facing serious challenges from foreign beliefs and wars, Confucianism turned to encouragement of extreme manifestations of its virtues. While this does not apply to all the cases in this section, many of the vengeance-related ones may be thus explained. In some of the accounts, a person justifies a gruesome revenge by saying that he has heard the rites say that 'one cannot share the sky with the enemy

of one's father' (*fu chou bu ke tong tian* 父讎不可同天). This line is probably not found verbatim in the Classics but there is a very similar one in the *Liji*:

父之讎弗與共戴天

The sky should not be carried together with the enemy of one's father.¹⁴²

The first time this line is referred to in the *Histories* is in *Jinshu*. A young woman shouts it out while scolding her father's killer before committing suicide.¹⁴³ The passion expressed in the accounts does not tally with the popular picture of the Confucian as only interested in decorum and philological discussions on the Classics. However, the *Lunyu* says:

惟仁者，能好人，能惡人。

Only the virtuous man can love and hate people.¹⁴⁴

Passion is present in the Classics, but was perhaps acted on (or written down) more frequently when manifestations of Confucianism was demanded. The famous school book of the Song dynasty, *Sanzi jing* 三字經, taught children how to behave when dealing with the Confucian virtues:

曰仁義

禮智信

此五常

不容紊

We speak of charity of heart and of duty towards one's neighbour,
of propriety, of wisdom, and of truth.

These five virtues admit of no compromise.¹⁴⁵

A student considering vengeance could with the above quotes find Confucian backing and so little room for further moral quandaries. By compiling quotes like this many differing views of Confucianism may be conveyed. Those above only show that it is not difficult to find support and encouragement for passion, hatred and vengeance in the Confucian classics.

What about the occurrence of cannibalism in this context? It seems that these are acts of vengeance born of sincere passion. In a context where passion is viewed as good, greater or unnecessary violence would indicate greater passion. Mencius has the following to say about animals eating each other:

獸相食且人惡之

Beasts devour one another, and men hate them *for doing so*.¹⁴⁶

He rejects it as an unhuman behaviour at the same time as he (in the previous quote on p. 26) exonerates the starving who resort to cannibalism by blaming the ruler. When Mencius declares cannibalism as the worst possible behaviour he strengthens

¹⁴² *Liji*, p. 1250.

¹⁴³ *Jinshu*, p. 2520. Early fourth century.

¹⁴⁴ Legge, vol. I, p. 166.

¹⁴⁵ Giles, *San Tzu Ching: Elementary Chinese*, pp. 34–35, (his trans.).

¹⁴⁶ Legge, vol. II, p. 133, (his italics).

the value of cannibalism as an act of violence. Therefore, when a person seeks to avenge a crime by desecrating the criminal in the worst possible way he resorts to cannibalism. As an indicator of passion, filial piety or loyalty, cannibalism becomes a way of soliciting understanding from society.

This does not imply that more people are desecrated this way in absolute figures in such a society but that in times of Confucian retreat or when a person wants to make a statement with his actions they become more abundant and also arouse more attention than an action less exceptional.

2c. Piety-related cannibalism

The accounts

The last major group to appear chronologically in the *Histories* is piety-related cannibalism. It is very different from the other groups in that all involved (and the eaten in particular) approve of the act. It is also very different in that there is no direct connection to violence, hatred, or starvation. On the contrary, love in the form of filial or daughterly piety, is, at least ideally, the stimulus behind the self-destructive act or sacrifice. The oldest account found describes an execution at the beginning of the Tang dynasty:

621

臨將就戮，勸對之號慟，割股肉以啖之，曰：「生死永訣，此肉同歸於土矣。」仍收養其子。

When he was about to be executed, Ji [a friend of the person being executed] howled in sorrow, cut flesh from his own thigh and fed him with it saying: 'Death is an eternal farewell. Let this piece of flesh follow you to the ground.' Afterwards he adopted his son.¹⁴⁷

The anomalies of this first account suggest that this was an important stage in the evolution of the behaviour. It happens during war, the person cutting his thigh is *not* related by blood to the person he gives the flesh to and the two of them seem to be of equal standing in terms of Confucian interpersonal relationships. Also, the person receiving the flesh does not have a physical ailment. Only 60 years later the descriptions 'freeze' into the form they will retain throughout imperial history.

684-701

王友貞，懷州河內人。父知敬，善書隸。武后時，仕為麟臺少監。友貞少為司經局正字。母病，醫言得人肉啖良已，友貞剔股以進，母疾愈。詔旌表其門。素好學，訓誨子弟如嚴君。口不語人過，重然諾，時以為君子。

Wang Youzhen was a native of Huaizhou, Henan. His father Zhijing was a very adept calligrapher. In the time of Empress Wu he served as Vice Director of the palace library. As a youngster Youzhen worked as a proofreader in the Editorial Service. When his mother fell ill and a doctor said that consumption of human flesh would cure her disease, Youzhen cut a piece of flesh from his own thigh and presented it to her. His mother quickly recovered. An imperial edict said that a banner should be used to mark his door. He enjoyed studying, and instructed his sons and younger brothers like the sternest ruler. He never spoke of other people's faults and always kept his promises. At the time he was considered a true gentleman.¹⁴⁸

¹⁴⁷ *Jiu Tangshu*, p. 2488; slightly different version in *Xin Tangshu*, p. 3821.

¹⁴⁸ *Xin Tangshu*, p. 5600; slightly different version in *Jiu Tangshu*, p. 5118.

Although he knows of three earlier examples, Qiu Zhonglin 邱仲麟, who has perhaps written the most extensive article on thigh cutting, mentions this as the earliest recording of someone cutting pieces of their own flesh to heal a parent.¹⁴⁹ It is about a son who cuts his thigh to cure his sick mother. He does so because a physician says that 'human flesh would be good for her'. He is rewarded by the empress and he is a person of moral rectitude. All these are more or less standard features of the accounts.

What about the fact that it happens within a family of literati? T'ien Ju-Kang found no literati among the 29 Tang cases he examined for his *T'oung Pao* article.¹⁵⁰ Although he claimed to study the 'behaviour of ko-ku' (*ge gu* 割股) the problem is that he seems to have examined it only when it occurred in the chapters devoted to filial piety and not when it was described elsewhere, as for example in the section on retired scholars (*Yinyi* 隱逸) as in the example above. Actually, persons who have qualified for the *Histories* only through an act of piety end up in the *Xiaoyou* or *Lienü* sections. Others, who are distinguished in other ways (through scholarly attainments, political feats or for being members of the royal family), have their acts of piety described in biographies devoted to their stratum of society. Qiu found that officials and literati (士人階層者) were well represented in his material and took up one fifth of the total. He also believed that during the Ming and Qing it was more popular among literati than during the Tang and Song.¹⁵¹

Before dealing with more typical accounts, a case explaining why the act of cutting one's thigh should be considered a sacrifice:

827

重胤出行中，善撫士，與下同甘苦。蔡將李端降重胤，蔡人執其妻殺之，妻呼曰：「善事烏僕射！」得士心大抵如此。待官屬有禮，當時有名士如溫造、石洪皆在幕府。既歿，士二十餘人割股以祭。

Chongyin began as a common soldier and became a very adept leader who shared both the sweet and the bitter with his men. Cai's general, Li Duan, surrendered to Chongyin, and when Cai's men caught and killed his wife she shouted: 'Serve Vice Director Wu well.' It was probably in this way that she won the hearts of the officers. He treated his subordinates with propriety. At the time there were famous scholars such as Wen Zao and Shi Hong in the private secretariat. When he died more than twelve officers cut flesh from their thighs to be used as an offering.¹⁵²

No flesh is consumed, no one is ill. The twelve officers honour the deceased with an act of self-destruction. The importance of the act lies in the sacrifice and not in the consumption of the flesh (even where consumed).

In the next account, from the Later Liang dynasty (*Hou Liang* 後梁), it is clear that the behaviour has become quite widely spread and also that the sincerity behind the

¹⁴⁹ Qiu Zhonglin 邱仲麟, 'A socio-historical study of the phenomenon of 'cutting flesh to heal parents,' p. 50. In a footnote Qiu says that the three earlier accounts 'await closer inspection'.

¹⁵⁰ T'ien Ju-K'ang, *Male Anxiety and Female Chastity*, p. 157.

¹⁵¹ Qiu, p. 89.

¹⁵² *Xin Tangshu*, p. 5188. The defiant wife is the same woman who is tortured with cannibalism in *Jiu Tangshu*, p. 5149 (included in chapter 3).

acts is seriously doubted by the person bestowing favours on the filial devotees—the emperor himself.

907

棣州蒲臺縣百姓王知嚴妹，以亂離併失怙帥，因舉哀迫感，自截兩指以祭父母。帝以遺體之重，不合毀傷，言念村閭，何知禮教。自今後所在郡縣，如有截指割股，不用奏聞。

是年，諸道多奏軍人百姓割股，青、齊、河朔尤多。帝曰：「此若因心，亦足為孝。但苟免徭役，自殘肌膚，欲以庇身，何能療疾。並宜太絕。」

In the Putai district of Dizhou, the little sister of Wang Zhiyan, a commoner, who because of the turmoil had become separated from both her parents began to mourn, was overcome with emotion and, as a sacrifice to her parents, cut off two fingers. The emperor found that because of the importance of the body, which is brought about by its being handed down by the parents, it is inconsistent to hurt it. But he considered her to be a simple village girl who could not possibly know of proper conduct. After this, in all commanderies and districts, if there was any finger or thigh cutting, there was no use in reporting it to the throne.

This year, in all circuits, there were many memorials of soldiers and commoners cutting their thighs. There were especially many from Qing, Qi and Heshuo. The emperor said: 'If heartfelt emotions lead to this they are certainly cases of filial devotion. But if one's skin is destroyed to avoid forced labour, and thus to protect ones body, how could it cure disease? It is appropriate to put an end to this.'¹⁵³

In many discussions on thigh cutting and other self-destructive piety-related actions a Confucian ambiguity is present. It is not good to hurt yourself because your body basically belongs to your parents and because it may endanger the proper continuation of ancestral sacrifices.¹⁵⁴ If you hurt yourself it should be done for the right reasons. It can also be deduced that many cases never made it into the history books, especially those committed for dubious motives.¹⁵⁵

926-933

五代之際，民苦於兵，往往因親疾以割股，或既喪而割乳廕墓，以規免州縣賦役。戶部歲給蠲符，不可勝數，而課州縣出紙，號為「蠲紙」。澤上書言其敝，明宗下詔悉廢戶部蠲紙。

During the Five Dynasties, when people were burdened by wars, they often cut their thighs because of a parent's disease, or cut their breasts and dwelt in a shed at the side of graves in mourning to avoid the taxes and service levies of the prefecture or district in question. The yearly tax remissions given by the Ministry of Revenue were innumerable. The tax levying prefectures and districts issued a document which was called 'Document of Remission'. Ze's memorial to the throne about this unworthy behaviour made Emperor Mingzong issue an edict revoking all documents of remission at the Ministry of Revenue.¹⁵⁶

A few decades later there is no longer any question in the minds of officials that

¹⁵³ *Jiu Wudaishi*, p. 56.

¹⁵⁴ See Lai Yanyuan 賴炎元 and Huang Junlang 黃俊郎, *Xiaojing duben* 孝經讀本, p. 17.

¹⁵⁵ A Tang law, *Jiu Tangshu*, p. 171, forbidding the cutting of flesh from executed criminals can perhaps be interpreted as a mirror of these unwanted cases.

¹⁵⁶ *Xin Wudaishi*, pp. 647–48. For more on the habit of dwelling in mourning sheds, see de Groot, vol. 2, pp. 479–85.

people use acts of piety to avoid taxes and service levies. Whereas the system perhaps 'worked' during peaceful periods during the Tang it was worn down by the incessant warfare and high taxes of the Five Dynasties.

969

劉孝忠，并州太原人。母病經三年，孝忠割股肉、斷左乳以食母；母病心痛劇，孝忠然火掌中，代母受痛。母尋愈。後數歲母死，孝忠傭為富家奴，得錢以葬。富家知其孝行，養為己子。後養父兩目失明，孝忠為舐之，經七日復能視。以親故，事佛謹，嘗於像前割雙股肉，注油創中，然燈一晝夜。劉鈞聞而召見，給以衣服、錢帛、銀鞍勒馬，署宣陵副使。開寶二年，太祖親征太原，召見慰諭。

Liu Xiaozhong was a native of Taiyuan, Bingzhou. During his mother's three years of failing health Xiaozhong had cut flesh from his thigh and cut off his left breast and fed her with these. But when the pain in her heart only increased, Xiaozhong lit a fire in his palm to suffer the pain instead of his mother. His mother subsequently recovered. After a number of years she died. Xiaozhong then sold himself as a slave to a rich family and used the money he received for the funeral. The rich family was aware of his filial behaviour and raised him as their own son. Later on when his foster father became blind, Xiaozhong licked his eyes. After seven days he could see again. For the sake of his parents, he served Buddha with the utmost sincerity. Once he cut both his thighs in front of the image, poured oil in the wounds and lit a fire which burned all night. Liu Jun heard about it, summoned him for a meeting and rewarded him with clothes, money, silk, a silver saddle and reins, and appointed him the Vice Commissioner of Xuanling. In the second year of the Kaibao reign, Emperor Taizu in person made a journey to Taiyuan, summoned Xiaozhong for a meeting and gave him comfort and instruction.¹⁵⁷

Here the connection to Buddhism is explicit. A filial and Buddhist devotee cuts flesh from his body and tortures himself by burning oil in his palm 'to suffer the pain instead of his mother'. The eye licking, which reoccurs a few times in history in this context, seems very moderate since it does not involve any pain or effort.¹⁵⁸ The conclusion may be that it is written down to praise the ability of the devotee to overcome repulsion.

992

呂昇，萊州人。父權失明，剖腹探肝以救父疾，父復能視而昇不死。冀州南宮人王翰，母喪明，翰自抉右目睛補之，母目明如故，淳化中，並下詔賜粟帛。

Lü Sheng was a native of Laizhou. When his father, Quan, lost his eyesight, Sheng slit his own stomach and cut out a piece of his liver to cure his father. His father could see again and Sheng did not die. Wang Han was a native of Nangong, Jizhou. When his mother's vision became blurred, Han scooped out his right eye to amend her loss. His mother's eyes then became clear as before. In the middle of the Shunhua reign, they were both awarded grain and silk by imperial command.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ *Songshi*, p. 13387.

¹⁵⁸ Li Shizhen 李時珍 says in his *Bencao gangmu* 本草綱目, p. 1612, that if a person with eyes affected by 'cloud films' has them licked 'the poison will disperse and the film retract'. William Cooper and Nathan Sivin comment ('Man as a Medicine', p. 247), that saliva is rich in lysozyme, a mucolytic enzyme, that can rid the eyes of thick secretions.

¹⁵⁹ *Songshi*, p. 13388.

One filial son cuts out a piece of his own liver to cure his father and another scoops out an eye for his mother. During the Song the sacrifices reach new extremes. T'ien Ju-K'ang found cutting the liver to be 'inconceivable'.¹⁶⁰ At a glance it is easy to agree with him. The mere probability of a person confronted with a sick parent being endowed with characteristics such as faith, courage, health, knowledge and the ability to endure the pain of extracting a piece of his own liver seems infinitely small. T'ien also referred to this example from the Ming dynasty and called it 'completely out of order physiologically'.

1460

後有張氏，儀真周祥妻。姑病，醫百方不效。一方士至其門曰：「人肝可療。」張割左脅下，得膜如絮，以手探之沒腕，取肝二寸許，無少痛，作羹以進姑，病遂瘳。

Then there was also Madame Zhang, wife of Zhou Xiang of Yizhen. When her mother-in-law fell ill, none of a hundred prescriptions did her any good. A Taoist then arrived at their door and said: 'Human liver will cure her.' Zhang made an incision in her left side below the ribs, got hold of a membrane resembling refuse silk, probed it until her hand was immersed up to the wrist and ended up with about two inches of liver. It did not hurt in the least. She made gruel and presented it to her mother-in-law. The disease then abated.¹⁶¹

The liver, which is supposed to be located in the right upper quadrant of the abdomen is reached through an incision on the left side. Her whole hand is inserted into her body (logical to reach the liver but certainly unnecessary compared to an incision on the right side). She does not feel any pain. Inconceivable perhaps, but if cutting of the liver is compared to the more conceivable cutting off of fingers, the only requirement for performing the former not needed for the latter is some medical knowledge. So, if the liver cutting is performed by someone without the required knowledge, the physiological incoherences should make the whole account more conceivable, rather than less. As is explicit in some similar accounts the cutting takes place in secret, probably to avoid obstruction by concerned parties. Subsequently, the scar or limp or whatever the effects are discovered, the case reported to the court and an investigation carried out. What is found in the history books is then the story of the devotee. This is perhaps most evident in the above account when it is said that the operation did not hurt.

It is perhaps also inconceivable that an unskilled person could make a deep incision in the abdominal area and survive. The account below shows that sometimes they did not.

1728

李盛山，福建羅源人。母病，割肝以救，傷重，卒。巡撫常賁疏請旌，下禮部，禮部議輕生愚孝，無旌表之例。雍正六年三月壬子，世宗諭曰：「朕惟世祖、聖祖臨御萬方，立教明倫，與人為善。而於例慎予旌表者，誠天地好生之盛心，聖人覺世之至道，視人命為至重，不可以愚昧誤戕；念孝道為至弘，不可以毀傷為正。但有司未嘗以聖賢經常之道，與國家愛養之心，明白宣示，是以愚夫愚婦救親而捐軀，朕夫而殞命，往往有之。既有其事，若不

¹⁶⁰ T'ien, p. 155, note 14.

¹⁶¹ *Mingshi*, p. 7701.

予以旌表，無以彰其苦志。故數十年來雖未定例，仍許奏聞，且有邀恩於常格之外者。聖祖哀矜下民之盛心，如是其周詳而委曲也。父母愛子，無所不至，若因己病而致其子割肝剖股以充飲饌、和湯藥，縱其子無恙，父母未有不驚憂惻怛慘惕而不安者，況因此而傷生，豈父母所忍聞乎？父母有疾，固人子盡心竭力之時，儻能至誠純孝，必且感天地、動鬼神，不必以驚世駭俗之為，著奇于日用倫常之外。婦人從一之義，醮而不改，乃天下之正道，然烈婦難，節婦尤難。夫亡之後，婦職之當盡者更多，上有翁姑，則當代為奉養。他如修治墳墓，經理家業，其事難以悉數，安得以一死畢其責乎？朕今特頒訓諭，有司廣為宣示，俾知孝子節婦，自有常經，倫常之地，皆合中庸，以毋負國家教養矜全之德。倘訓諭之後，仍有不愛軀命，蹈於危亡者，朕亦不概加旌表，以成激烈輕生之習也。」盛山仍予旌表。

Li Shengshan was a native of Luoyuan, Fujian. When his mother fell ill, he cut his own liver to save her. He, however, died from the severe injury. Chang Lai, the provincial governor, appealed to the throne that insignia be conferred upon him. The case was assigned to the Ministry of Rites, which stated that there were no precedents for rewarding stupid acts of filial devotion disrespectful of life. On the *renzi* day of the third month in the sixth year of the Yongzheng reign, Emperor Shizong issued an edict saying: 'We are of the belief that when Emperor Shizu and Emperor Shengzu commanded the 10,000 directions and established doctrines for interpersonal relationships, it was done to teach people to be good. Those who were awarded insignia after careful consideration were those who gave proof of a sincere and kindhearted universal love of life. When the sages enlightened the world with their eminent rules, they regarded human life as something most important, not to be accidentally destroyed by the ignorant. They also believed that among the greatest manifestations of filial devotion, destruction and injury did not belong. But if officials never employ the eternal way of the sages, with manifest love for country and family, cases of ignorant husbands and wives giving up their lives to save their parents and wives killing themselves to be buried with their husbands will be common. If an event like this has already happened and it is not rewarded with insignia, their lamentable situation will not be known. Although the precedents have not been defined for decades, the reporting of these events has still been allowed for imperial information, as has, moreover, the requesting of favours for these outside ordinary regulations. The kindheartedness of Shengzu that made him sympathize with his subjects in this way complicated matters by attending to detail. Parental love for children is everywhere to be found. Suppose that one's child is not injured by cutting a piece of his liver or thigh, mixing it with medicine into a soup, to supplement one's nourishment when ill, are there any parents who would not be taken by feelings of alarm, compassion and grief? Furthermore, if they do hurt themselves, could any parent bear hearing about it? If a parent falls ill and the child exhausts his strength with all his heart, and manages to attain sincere and pure filial devotion, it will stir the universe and move the gods. There is neither a need for acts terrifying to the world and its customs, nor for the adding of odd behaviours to the interpersonal obligations of today.

For women, the obligation of remaining loyal to only one man, marrying only once, is the correct way of the universe. However, it is difficult to become a meritorious woman, and even more difficult to become a chaste woman. When her husband passes away her duties towards him becomes even more. She will have her husband's father and mother to support instead of him. The rest is like disentangling duckweed and white southernwood. The responsibilities for upholding the household tasks, which are difficult even to count, how can it be ended by a suicide for the sake of her husband? In today's special proclamation we decree that what officials should propagate for the filial devotees and chaste women is that ever since we received regulations for interpersonal relationships they have agreed with the golden mean. Therefore, do not turn your backs on your country, the upbringing

and education of your family and the virtue of loving completeness. After this decree, if there are still those who do not cherish their bodies or their lives, and place themselves in great danger, we will reward none of them with insignia, because it is a habit of intense disrespect for life.' Shengshan was still rewarded with insignia.¹⁶²

When a devotee dies from trying to cut out a piece of his liver to save his mother, Shizong, emperor of the Yongzheng period, decrees that acts disrespectful of life will not be rewarded any more. The discussion he embarks on differs from the other ones, which mostly accuse the devotees of trying to avoid conscription or tax. He is against life-threatening acts and suicides, calling them unnecessary, irresponsible and disrespectful of life. What Shizong wanted was 'sincere and pure filial devotion' and not extremism.

1142

陳宗，永嘉人。年十六，母蔡病篤，剖股為餌，病愈。已而復病不救，宗一慟而絕。郡守陸德輿云：「陳宗自毀其體，哀慟傷生，雖非孝道之正，而能為人所難為之事，亦天性之至。」官為合葬，榜曰「陳孝子墓」。

Chen Zong was a native of Yongjia. When he was 16 years of age his mother Cai fell seriously ill. He then cut flesh from his own thigh and used it as an ingredient [in her medicine]. The disease abated. Before long she fell ill again, this time beyond rescue. Zong, overcome with grief, ended his life. Lu Deyu, the prefect, said: 'Chen Zong harmed his own body and killed himself in grief. Although this is not the correct way of expressing filial devotion, he has done what other people find very hard to do, and, moreover, his deed was of the purest natural kind'. Officials buried them together. The tablet read: 'Grave of Filial Son Chen'.¹⁶³

At their best, these acts of piety are prompted by the inborn natural disposition of the devotee which is, when not explicit, conveyed with a reference to the young age of the devotee or, as in one of the accounts above, his inability to explain the deed. Whether the disposition to put one's body at peril in a bodily sacrifice is inborn or not is debatable. However, it is certain that physical manifestations of filial devotion were sometimes promoted in elaborate propaganda campaigns.

1101-1118

蕭服字昭甫，廬陵人。第進士，調望江令，治以教化為本。訪古詒，得王祥臥冰池、孟宗泣筍臺，皆為築亭。又刻唐縣令鞠信陵文于石，俾民知所嚮。已而邑人朱氏女剖股愈母疾，人頌傳之，以為治化所致。

Xiao Fu, style name Zhaofu, was a native of Luling. After receiving the degree of metropolitan graduate, he became the magistrate of Wangjiang. His rule had reform through education as its basis. He searched for historic sites and found the lake where Wang Xiang had lied on the ice and the terrace where Meng Zong had cried at the bamboo sprouts. At those sites he erected pagodas. He also made a stone engraving of the works of Ju Xinling, Tang dynasty magistrate of the district, so that people would know what his intention was. Before long, a Mrs. Zhu of the same county cut her own thigh to cure her mother's disease. People praised the event and thought of it as a result of the current rule.¹⁶⁴

¹⁶² *Qingshi gao*, pp. 13739-40.

¹⁶³ *Songshi*, p. 13412.

¹⁶⁴ *Songshi*, p. 11023.

Wang Xiang and Meng Zong are characters from the third century. Wang thawed the ice of a pond by lying on it with his bare body because his unloving step-mother wanted fresh fish. Meng cried in a bamboo forest when trying to find off-season bamboo sprouts for his mother.¹⁶⁵ The campaign did not only inspire Mrs. Zhu to cut her thigh, 'lying on ice' (*wobing* 臥冰) became an additional way of showing devotion to be repeated by later devotees.¹⁶⁶

1130

雷婦師氏，夫亡，孝養舅姑。姑病，剗臂肉飼之，姑即愈。

The wife of Lei, Madame Shi. When her husband died she devotedly provided for her parents-in-law. When her mother-in-law fell ill she cut flesh from her own arm and fed her with it. Her mother-in-law then recovered.¹⁶⁷

In the twelfth century women begin to cut themselves, and from this period through to the 20th century women constitute half of all such cases. The above is also the first account of the cut made on the arm. T'ien says that *ge gu* literally means to 'cut a piece of flesh from the thigh.' Then he says that 'later it exclusively meant the flesh of either arm.'¹⁶⁸ Qiu also discusses the possibility of *ge gu* being a general designation for many ways of cutting the body and believes that from the Ming and Qing on it would have been 'disrespectful' to cut the lower part of the body, an opinion he supports with two Qing quotes.¹⁶⁹ The following quote sheds some light on the issue.

1821-1850

呂敘孚，湖南永定人。父孟卿，貧，以客授自給。母病將殆，思肉食，敘孚方七歲，貧諸屠，屠不可，泣而歸。聞母呻吟，益痛，內念股肉可啗母，取廚刀礪使利，割右股四寸許，授其女弟，方五歲，令就爐火炙以進。母疾良已，孟卿歸，墓敘孚足微跛，得其狀，與母持以哭。敘孚曰：「毋然，兒固無所苦也。」鄉人皆嗟異稱孝童。長為諸生，敘政溫忠翰疏聞，尋除華容訓導。孟卿亦嘗剗股愈父病，然敘孚割股時，初不知父有是事也。

Lü Jiaofu was a native of Yongding, Hunan. His father, Mengqing, was poor and supported his family as a tutor. When his mother fell ill and her condition was becoming critical, she thought of eating meat. Jiaofu, who was only seven years old, asked to borrow meat from all the butchers but they turned him down and he returned home crying. When he heard his mother moaning from the intensifying pain, he thought to himself that he could feed her with flesh cut from his own thigh. He fetched the kitchen knife, sharpened it and cut about four *cun* of flesh from his right thigh, handed it to his little sister who was only five years old and told her to cook it on the stove for their mother. Her disease abated. On Mengqing's return home he found that Jiaofu was limping slightly. When he heard the details he and the mother embraced and cried. Jiaofu said: 'Do not cry. Your son really did not suffer at all.' The villagers all admired the extraordinarily filial child. When he grew up and began his educational career, the provincial education commissioner Wen Zhonghan made his case known and he was appointed the assistant

¹⁶⁵ Wang Xiang's biography can be found in *Jinshu*, p. 987, and the story of Meng in Chen Shou 陳壽, *Sanguozhi* 三國志, p. 1169, note 3. The name Ju Xinling is erroneously used here for Qu Xinling 麴信陵, a popular magistrate of the eighth century according to *Zhongguo renming dizidian* 中國人名大辭典, p. 1762.

¹⁶⁶ Two examples can be found in *Yuanshi*, p. 4443. Otherwise it is mostly encountered in edicts prohibiting it.

¹⁶⁷ *Jinshi*, p. 2798.

¹⁶⁸ T'ien, p. 153.

¹⁶⁹ Qiu, pp. 52-53.

instructor of Hua Rong. Mengqing had also cut his thigh to cure his father's disease but when Jiaofu cut his thigh he did not know that his father had gone through this experience.¹⁷⁰

In this narrative, set in the late Qing, Jiaofu, the youngest person in history to have sacrificed a piece of his own flesh, has cut his thigh and is discovered because he is limping. This shows that until as late as the nineteenth century *ge gu* meant thigh-, and not arm cutting. Until an account is found of *ge gu* leading to, for example, a disabled arm, it is safer to stick to its literal meaning. One recurring difference between the accounts of female and male devotees is the references to typically female virtues such as chastity in the chapters on heroines:

1573-1619

又洪氏，懷寧章崇雅妻。崇雅早卒，洪守志十年。姑許，疾不能起，洪剌乳肉為羹而飲之，獲愈，餘肉投池中，不令人知。數日後，群鴨自水中銜出，鳴噪迴翔，小童獲以告姑。姑起視之，乳血猶淋漓也。其夫兄崇古亦早亡，姒朱氏誓死靡他，妯娌相守五十年云。

There was also Madame Hong, wife of Zhang Chongya of Huaining. After Chongya's early death, Hong had been chaste for ten years when her mother-in-law, Xu, was confined to her bed by a disease. Hong then cut out some flesh from her breast, made it into gruel and gave it to her to drink. She was healed. The rest of the flesh she threw into a pond, not letting anyone know about the incident. Several days afterwards, a flock of ducks lifted it out of the water with much squabbling and commotion. A child got hold of it and told the mother-in-law. When she examined the breast she saw that blood was still dripping from it. Her husband's brother Chong Gu also died early and the sister-in-law swore that till death there would be no other. The sisters-in-law remained chaste for 50 years.¹⁷¹

1736-1795

許會妻張，潁州人。姑姣而虐，惡張端謹不類，日詬且撻，張事姑益恭。姑病，刲股以療，姑虐如故。姑與鄰寺僧通，欲亂張。姑匿僧室，召張入，而出鍵其戶，張大號，僧遁去。翌日，自沉于井。有司捕得僧，論如律。鄉人裂僧尸以祭張。

Xu Hui and his wife Zhang were natives of Yingzhou. Her mother-in-law, a deceitful and cruel woman who hated her exceptionally upright and respectful character, scolded and beat her daily. Zhang only treated her with even more reverence. When she fell ill Zhang cut flesh from her own thigh to cure her, but her mother-in-law was cruel just like before. The mother-in-law, who had had illicit intercourse with one of the monks in the neighbouring temple, wanted to defame Zhang. She hid the monk in her room and summoned Zhang. When she entered and the monk appeared and bolted the door, she cried loudly, which made him withdraw. The following morning she drowned herself in the well. An official arrested the monk and settled the matter according to the law. The villagers dismembered the monk's corpse and used it as an offering to Zhang.¹⁷²

Another difference between the accounts of male and female self-mutilation concerns descriptions of the relationship between a wife and her mother-in-law or some other member of the husband's family. The infected relationship in the above

¹⁷⁰ *Qingshi gao*, p. 13745. Xu 徐 should have xue 學 to the left (instead of 余) and be pronounced *jiao*.

¹⁷¹ *Mingshi*, p. 7735.

¹⁷² *Qingshi gao*, p. 14171.

account is rather unusual. In the account below the affianced bride is noted for her total loyalty to her future husband.

1806

何其仁聘妻李，路南人。嘉慶十一年，年十六，未行。其仁及其父皆病篤，李割股畀叔母使送婿家。至，則其仁及其父皆已卒，其仁母瘞以奠。李欲奔喪，母尼之，遂縊。

The affianced bride of He Qiren, Li, was a native of Lu'nán. In the eleventh year of the Jiaqing reign, when she was 16 years of age and had not yet left her family, both Qiren and his father fell seriously ill. Li then cut a piece of flesh from her thigh, gave it to an aunt to see to that it was sent to the home of her future husband. When it arrived Qiren and his father had already died, so Qiren's mother cooked and used it as a funeral offering. Li wanted to set off for the funeral immediately but her mother stopped her. She then hanged herself.¹⁷³

Chronological distribution

As was the case in part 2b, these events have an ancient precedent (see p. 11). For more than 1300 years there are no further accounts of persons cutting pieces of flesh from their thighs and offering them to a person in need. In the early Tang they resurface and continue to occur for the remaining 1300 years of imperial history. The frequency of occurrence is high during the Tang and low during the Five Dynasties, then high and fairly stable from the Song until the end of the Qing. Perhaps this suggests a negative correlation to war. Fortunately, and unlike the other categories of cannibalism, there are a few discussions on its frequency as well as on efforts to curb or promote it. From these, some explanation for the blank periods, for instance that of the Five Dynasties, can be discerned. The two discussions from 907 and 926-933 presented above suggest strongly that in the eyes of officials the prospect of tax remissions and exemption from military service tarnished the idealism of the devotee and his/her act of piety. The incentives for cutting one's thigh became too great, the false devotees too many. The guardians of morality and resources could only react by depreciating the value of the acts and thus banishing them (temporarily) from the history books.

During the Song the behaviour was sometimes promoted locally as seen above. The introduction to the *Xiaoyi* section of the *Songshi* below might serve to show how these manifestations of piety were promoted on a national level and thus why they became more numerous from here on.

冠冕百行莫大於孝，範防百為莫大於義。先王興孝以教民厚，民用不薄；興義以教民睦，民用不爭。率天下而由孝義，非履信思順之世乎。太祖、太宗以來，子有復父仇而殺人者，壯而釋之；刳股割肝，咸見褒賞；至於數世同居，輒復其家。一百餘年，孝義所感，醴泉、甘露、芝草、異木之瑞，史不絕書，宋之教化有足觀者矣。作孝義傳。

Of all sorts of laudable conducts, none is greater than filial devotion. Of all sorts of confining behaviours, none is greater than righteousness. When the earlier kings promoted filial devotion it was with the intention of teaching the people sincerity. As they learned, their insincerity disappeared. When

¹⁷³ *Qingshi gao*, p. 14097.

they promoted righteousness it was with the intention of teaching the people peacefulness. As they learned, their aggression disappeared. To lead all under heaven with filial devotion and righteousness, will this not beget a world of trustworthy acts and uncomplicated thoughts? From Emperors Taizu and Taizong on, sons who have avenged their fathers by killing others have been commended and released. Thigh and liver cutting, whenever it has occurred, has been praised and rewarded. Even for living several generations under the same roof people have been promptly remunerated. For more than a hundred years, acts of filial devotion and righteousness have caused auspicious omens such as sweet springs, sweet dew, irises and rare trees to be entered into the books of history in an endless stream. The culture of the Song is abundant enough for everyone to see. This is the monograph on filial devotion and righteousness.¹⁷⁴

It should be pointed out that the scarceness of 'textual' propaganda of the above type, is not because these acts of filial devotion were generally not encouraged. They were encouraged in other ways, primarily with material rewards bestowed by authorities, and secondarily by the inclusion of the act in the *Histories*. At the same time as these encouragements are rare, the complete prohibition, such as this one from the treatise on punishment and law (*Xingfa zhi* 刑法志) of the Yuan dynasty, is also rare.

諸為子行孝，輒以割肝、割股、埋兒之屬為孝者，並禁太之。
All manifestations of filial devotion by self-willed acts such as the cutting of livers and thighs, or the burying of sons, are forbidden.¹⁷⁵

The edicts prior to the Song aim at curbing 'false' acts done for the wrong reasons and from the Song onwards, acts causing severe bodily damage. Whether they had any effect is not clear since the targeted acts would not be included anyhow. The acts approved of after an edict are not significantly fewer. The rejected cases are only mentioned in connection with the discussion they sparked, as in this example from early Ming.

1394

亨泰為禮部尚書時，日照民江伯兒以母病殺其三歲子祀岱嶽。有司以聞。帝怒其滅絕倫理，杖百，戍海南，因命亨泰定旌表孝行事例。亨泰議曰：「人子事親，居則致其敬，養則致其樂，有疾則謹其醫藥。臥冰割股，事非恆經。割股不已，至於割肝，割肝不已，至於殺子，違道傷生，莫此為甚。墮宗絕祀，尤不孝之大者，宜嚴行戒諭。倘愚昧無知，亦聽其所為，不在旌表之例。」詔曰「可」。

When Hengtai served as the Minister of Rites, Jiang Boer, a native of Rizhao, killed his three year old son as a sacrifice to Daiyue [Mount Tai], because his mother was sick. An official made this known. In his fury over this violation of human obligations and principles, the emperor sentenced him to 100 blows of the heavy bamboo and frontier service on Hainan. He also ordered Hengtai to define rules for the conferment of insignia for filial behaviour. Hengtai stated: 'In serving parents, children should show respect for them in their everyday life, take pleasure in caring for them and be selective when procuring medicine. To lie on ice and to cut one's thigh is not something that has always been performed. If thigh cutting is not stopped it leads to liver cutting. If liver cutting is not stopped it leads to infanticide. Nothing is more

¹⁷⁴ *Songshi*, p. 13386.

¹⁷⁵ *Yuanshi*, p. 2682.

serious than to go against what is right and to harm life. To let one's ancestors fall into oblivion by discontinuing the sacrificial duties is most unfilial and calls for stringent measures. If people are stupid and ignorant and we hear of this behaviour again, they will not be regarded as precedents deserving insignia.' The emperor said: 'Approved'.¹⁷⁶

Even if not very clearly expressed most edicts never seem to whole-heartedly aim to stamp out the phenomenon completely. What might confuse the reader is that the discussions seem to be about prohibitions when they are really about whether the acts should be rewarded or not. When the emperor in the above example agrees to not reward these acts in the future he is not prohibiting it and he might actually be agreeing to be more lenient and not punishing them as he did with Jiang Boer. Also adding to the confusion is that very soon after it is decided that the acts should not be rewarded they might still be mentioned. The decision to not reward them might also be overturned fairly soon. The following quote describe events happening only a decade after the previous discussion.

1403-1424

永樂間，江陰衛卒徐佛保等復以割股被旌。而掖縣張信、金吾右衛總旗張法保援李德成故事，俱擢尚寶丞。迨英、景以還，即割股者亦格於例，不以聞，而所旌，大率皆廬墓者矣。

In the Yongle reign, insignia were again conferred on Xu Fobao and other soldiers of the Jiangyin Guard for cutting their thighs. And when Zhang Xin of Yexian, and Zhang Fabao, platoon commander of the Right Imperial Insignia Guard quoted the story of Li Decheng as a precedent, they were all promoted to seals office aides. From the reigns of the emperors Ying and Jing onwards, thigh cutting was again removed from the statutes and therefore not promoted. Insignia were mostly conferred on those who dwelt in sheds beside graves.¹⁷⁷

The Confucian ambiguity can be understood if viewed in the light of the more clear-cut ethical dilemma of vengeance. In the case of vengeance Confucians seem united. The law says that murder is wrong and the rites that vengeance is right. If a murder is committed the murderer is convicted and sentenced to death. If it is brought to attention that the murderer avenged his father's death he is released and entered in the books as a hero. Confucianism defeats legalism and chalks the win into a Confucian medium; a chronicle. If the outcome is the opposite the legalist win is generally not entered. Having more the nature of civil than criminal cases, the evaluation of sacrifices done by filial devotees is not as simple as this since the elimination of the legalist side entails that the adversaries cannot be divided into an equally simple dichotomy. Passing moral judgement on non-criminal affairs is purely a Confucian task.

Geographical distribution

The area host to the bulk of these accounts is larger than those of the preceding

¹⁷⁶ *Mingshi*, pp. 3946–47; slightly different version on p. 7593.

¹⁷⁷ *Mingshi*, pp. 7593–94.

ones. But again a triangle is useful to describe the pattern. North of the leg between Peking and Chengdu there are few cases. This is similar to the other groups. The southern leg, however, has to be drawn from Chengdu to the southern parts of the Fujian province to include most of the accounts. The south is more prominent than in the other groups and in particular the area adjacent to the eastern part of Changjiang. Provinces undistinguished earlier but well represented here are Anhui, Hunan, Zhejiang and Fujian.

From piety to cannibalism

Propagation of filial piety comes from antiquity. Lists of devotees, however, are not as old judging by the *Histories*. Their first inclusion is in the *Jinshu*. T'ien Ju-K'ang explains the arising 'need' for piety: 'After the tragic loss of the whole of North China to the Huns [...] there arose among the Han Chinese an uncontrollable longing for the past glory of their rule, of which Confucius' filial devotion was unquestionably an indelible symbol.'¹⁷⁸ At that time devotees made manifest their piety in many different ways but it was not until the Tang dynasty that they began sacrificing their own flesh. What made them do so?

唐時陳藏器著本草拾遺，謂人肉治疾，自是民間以父母疾，多割股肉而進。又有京兆張阿九、趙言，奉天趙正言、滑清泌，羽林飛騎啖榮祿，鄭縣吳孝友，華陰尹義華，潞州張光玘，解縣南鍛，河東李忠孝、韓所，鄆陵任客奴，絳縣張子英，平原楊仙朝，樂工段日昇，河東將陳涉，襄陽馮子，城固雍孫八，虞鄉張抱玉、骨英秀，榆次馮秀誠，封丘楊嵩珪、劉皓，清池朱庭玉、弟庭金，繁昌朱存，歙縣黃芮，左千牛薛鋒及河陽劉士約，或給帛，或旌表門閭，皆名在國史。善乎韓愈之論也，曰：「父母疾，亨藥餌，以是為孝，未聞毀支體者也。苟不傷義，則聖賢先眾而為之。是不幸因而且死，則毀傷滅絕之罪有歸矣，安可旌其門以表異之？」雖然，委巷之陋，非有學術禮義之資，能忘身以及其親，出於誠心，亦足稱者。

The *Roots and Grass Compilation* edited by Chen Zangqi during the Tang dynasty stated that human flesh could cure disease. From then on people, when their fathers or mothers were sick, cut flesh from their thighs and offered it to them. There were [here follows a list of 29 names]. Some received silk and some insignia marking their homes or villages. All were mentioned in the *National History*. Correct is the reasoning by Han Yu which says: 'To cook medicine when one's parents fall ill is to be filial. But I have never heard that destruction of one's own body is. If it does not harm righteousness the saints and worthies would have preceded the masses in doing it. If an accident happens and death follows, the crime of destruction and termination of the sacrifices is a fact. How can insignia be conferred on the doors of these people to show how extraordinary they are?' However, in the sordidness of the crooked alleys, where there is no learning or adherence to rites and righteousness, if a person can forget the well-being of his own body and extend it to his nearest it must come from a sincere heart and deserves praise.¹⁷⁹

This is the explanation to the origin of thigh cutting proffered in the *Histories*. The work mentioned, Chen Zangqi's no longer extant *Bencao Shiyi*, is extensively quoted and commented on in Li Shizhen's *Bencao Gangmu*.

¹⁷⁸ T'ien, p. 151.

¹⁷⁹ *Xin Tangshu*, p. 5577. *Cun* 存 should have *xin* 心 to the left.

Zhang Gao says in his *Yishuo*, that in the Kaiyuan period the Ming native Chen Zangqi wrote in his *Bencao Shiyi*, that human flesh is a remedy for atrophy and debility, and that it was no rare occurrence in villages to cut pieces of flesh from the thigh on behalf of sufferers of such complaints. So, cutting one's thigh or liver occurred already antecedent to Chen, and this author is to be censured for having written about the matter in his work without advocating the erroneousness of it. In this my *Bencao* I confine myself to merely touching upon the matter. Oh, our body and limbs, hair and skin, we got them altogether from our parents, and so we have no right to maim or wound them. And could any parents, even if dangerously ill, possibly desire their offspring to mutilate their limbs, and make them eat their bones and flesh? We have here to do with ideas of stupid people. It is stated in He Mengchun's *Yu dong lu*, that Jiang Boer, when his mother was ill, cut flesh from his ribs and gave it her to eat, and yet no cure ensued. Then he prayed to the gods on her behalf, promising them to immolate his son as a thank-offering, and as she regained her health, he killed his son, three years old. The matter was reported to Taizu, who, indignant at his cutting short his pedigree and destroying thereby the natural laws, had him belaboured with sticks and banished. The *Zhuogeng lu* of Tao Jiucheng says, that in times old and modern, soldiers on the war-path have eaten human flesh, calling it flesh of thought or, occasionally, mutton of bipeds. But such things are unnatural practices of insurgents, which cannot be quite eradicated.¹⁸⁰

Li's view is a bit different since he sees Chen as a product of his environment rather than the originator. Who is right? Since there are cases antecedent to the Kaiyuan period (713-741) Li's view seems more credible. On the other hand, both could be right if the first account is interpreted as saying that Chen was the first to propagate the therapeutic value of thigh cutting. Perhaps he did not invent a new custom but made an old one more legitimate in the eyes of Confucians.

If the accounts themselves are consulted, there is often a presence of physicians but rarely do they suggest consumption of human flesh. Mostly thighs are cut when all cures provided by physicians prove worthless. Still the flesh is often consumed mixed with medicine which would indicate involvement of some medical knowledge. Other reasons are the inborn 'natural' disposition of the devotee mentioned earlier and poverty which makes the devotee cut him/herself after failing to procure meat.

Linking any novelty appearing during the Six Dynasties to either the division of the empire or Buddhism is common in sinology. This has also been done with thigh cutting. The appeal of this approach is sometimes very compelling—in the case from 969 above, a devotee cuts flesh for his parents and does obeisance to Buddha while torturing himself.

Identifying the peripheral effects of an idea is a difficult task. This is not written to discredit attempts at doing so but to warn of those aspiring at or claiming conclusiveness. Here the views of a few researchers with slightly different focal points will be discussed and, when possible, fused to provide a fuller picture.

T'ien believes that foreign cultures forced the filial piety of Confucianism to extremes and that Buddhism with its self-immolatory practices furnished it with the idea of this type of bodily sacrifice. However, other scholars point out that

¹⁸⁰ Li, *Bencao gangmu*, p. 1617. The translation is de Groot's from vol. 4, pp. 384-85 (slightly revised).

Buddhism borrowed from Confucianism and that Confucianism inspired Buddhist self-immolations. Jan Yün-hua writes that although there was a firm and strong condemnation of self-destruction in Confucian doctrines, Confucian classics and Taoist scriptures influenced Buddhist self-immolation.¹⁸¹ Jan points at the following paragraphs in the *Lunyu* and *Mencius* to support his idea:

子曰：志士仁人無求生以害仁有殺身以成仁

The master said, 'the determined scholar and the man of virtue will not seek to live at the expense of injuring their virtue. They will even sacrifice their lives to preserve their virtue complete.'¹⁸²

生亦我所欲也義亦我所欲也二者不可得兼舍生而取義者也

Life is what I desire. Righteousness is what I desire. If I cannot keep the two together, I will let life go, and choose righteousness.¹⁸³

Jacques Gernet frequently uses words such as fervor, frenzy, paroxysm, delirium and exuberance when discussing early Chinese Buddhist festivals and identifies the period from 640 to 713 as one of 'particularly intense religious fervor'. During this period the passion for sacrifice expressed itself in collective violence and excess. However, he recognises the enthusiasm and the destructive fury directed against possessions at Buddhist festivals as already being present in indigenous celebrative occasions such as the New Year. The 'Buddhist fervor' is then an effect of the new religion's adoption by the Chinese. Buddhism contributed luxuriousness of ornamentation and an increased importance attached to offerings and sacrifices. These spectacular qualities were not minor details defining Buddhism in China but were in fact one of the reasons for its success. 'It happens that the passion for spectacles, the induction of emotion for its own sake, and the display and squandering of wealth correspond at the same time to religious objectives, to a desire to act upon the beyond.'

According to Gernet, it is under the Eastern Jin (317-420) that sizable Buddhist communities begin to appear. During the first quarter of the fifth century the great Indian treatises on discipline are translated. This is considered to be one of two peaks in Buddhist fervor, the other one coming, as mentioned, at the end of the seventh century. During the fifth century Buddhist devotees begin maiming themselves physically. This should be seen as an extension of the simultaneously widespread material destruction. In Gernet's words 'In great festivals, one spends and one spends oneself.' This self-destruction is probably also of mixed indigenous and Buddhist origin. To the reader of older Chinese literature the religious missionary propagating his faith at a social gathering by claiming to possess super-natural powers is a common character. Some of these convinced people by displaying an insensitivity to pain.¹⁸⁴ This role fitted very well with the Buddhist ambition to give away everything including one's own flesh with indifference and without wishing for blessings.¹⁸⁵ Paul Demiéville writes that 'Practises of physical self-dedication went to lengths

¹⁸¹ Jan Yün-hua, 'Buddhist self-immolation in medieval China,' *History of Religions*, 4:2 (1965), 245-46.

¹⁸² Legge, vol. I, p. 297 (his trans.).

¹⁸³ Legge, vol. II, p. 411.

¹⁸⁴ de Groot discusses self-mutilation of possessed mediums in vol. 6, pp. 1269-94.

¹⁸⁵ Gernet, *Buddhism in Chinese Society*, pp. 65-66, 195-247, 254-55.

unequaled in India. Some fanatics gave up one of their limbs, or even their whole body as a sacrifice, and such practices were considered sacrilege by Confucians [...] and that 'In India, the redeeming self-sacrifices of the heroes of the Mahayana were largely mythical; but such legends were taken as truth by the Chinese, who are realists, always anxious that words should be matched by deeds.'¹⁸⁶ How literally a people tends to understand the written word is difficult to ascertain. Perhaps the fervor of the believers and a sceptical and jaded audience too often exposed to 'miraculous' feats plus the Indian theme of the bodhisattva giving his flesh to the Buddha or other beings were enough to inspire acts of self-destruction.

How then did these Buddhist acts (or acts performed by Buddhists) end up on the list of Confucian deeds in homage to parents? In the *Sutra of the Wise and the Foolish* (*Xianyujiing* 賢愚經), a book of 52 Jataka tales translated in 445 from a now lost Sanskrit original, the following story is told:¹⁸⁷

糧食乏盡飢餓迷耗無餘方計憐愛其子欲殺其婦而欲自濟并用活兒令婦在前擔兒而行於後拔刀欲殺其婦時兒迴顧見父拔刀欲殺其母兒便叉手曉父王言唯願大王寧殺我身勿害我母慙慙諫父救其母命而語父言莫絕殺我稍割食之可經數日若斷我命肉便臭爛不可經久於是父母欲割兒肉啼哭懊惱而割食之日日割食其肉精盡唯有骨在末至他國飢耗遂甚父復捉刀於其節解次第割之而得少肉於是父母臨當棄去兒自思惟我命少在唯願父母向所有肉可以少許還用見施父母不違即作三分二分自食餘有一分并殘肌肉眼舌之等悉以施之於是別去兒便立願我今身肉供養父母持是功德用求佛道普濟十方一切眾生使離眾苦至涅槃樂 Provisions were exhausted. They were crazed with hunger and there was no way out. Because he loved his son he wanted to kill his wife, save himself and also keep his son alive. So he told his wife to take his son on her back and walk in front. Behind them he drew his knife to kill his wife. At that moment the son looked back and saw his father with the drawn knife about to kill his mother. The son then pressed his palms together and explained to his father the king: 'My only wish is that the great king would kill me. Do not hurt my mother,' he anxiously pleaded with his father to save his mother's life. Then he said to his father: 'Do not terminate my life completely. If you cut a little and eat it you can hold on for several days whereas if you take my life at once my flesh will just rot away and you will not last for much longer.' When the father and mother were about to cut their son they cried desperately and then cut and ate it. Every day they cut and ate some until his flesh was almost gone. There was only bones left. Before they had reached another kingdom their starvation grew again. The father grabbed the knife again, cut off a joint, peeled it and obtained a small amount of flesh. His mother and father were then about to throw him away, when the son meditated: 'There is still some life in me. My only wish is that my father and mother would take some of the flesh and return it as charity.' The father and mother did not disagree. They then cut him into three pieces, ate two pieces themselves, took the third bit, together with the remaining flesh, eyes and tongue and gave it all away as charity. Then they left. The son then made the following wish: 'By the merit of having given my flesh to nourish my father and mother I ask for Enlightenment and deliverance of all beings in the ten directions from their sufferings and that they may reach Nirvana.'¹⁸⁸

¹⁸⁶ Demiéville, 'Philosophy and Religion from Han to Sui,' p. 848.

¹⁸⁷ Gard, *Buddhist Text Information*, pp. 2-3, 6-7. Frye says in his translation of the Mongolian version *The Sutra of the Wise and the Foolish*, p. vii, that it is uncertain if there ever was a Sanskrit or Prakrit original. T'ien mentions three sutras that might have inspired acts of filial devotion on p. 153, note 6.

¹⁸⁸ Hui Jiao 慧覺 et al., trans., *Xianyujiing* 賢愚經, in *Dazangjing* 大藏經, p. 356.

A son sacrifices his own flesh for his parents. If this deed was copied in China it must have greatly awed Confucians, who at the time had just begun to encourage heroic acts of filial piety. However, Confucians could hardly react by praising Buddhism, so within a few hundred years sacrificing flesh became Confucian. The physicians propagating the healing qualities of human flesh provided the Confucians with a final reason to condone it at the same time as they extracted it from its Buddhist context. Perhaps because Buddhism had problems gaining acceptance, other sutras in which filial piety met Buddhist self-immolation were translated. One is the *Dacheng bensheng xindiguan jing* 大乘本生心地觀經 from the Tang dynasty which says the following:

每日三時割自身肉以養父母而未能報一日之恩。

Cutting one's flesh three times daily to feed one's parents can never repay even one day of their goodness.¹⁸⁹

A short summary of these speculations would be that Confucianism, retreating both in popularity and geographically southward (as indicated by the geographical distribution), turned to extreme manifestations of its virtues by borrowing elements from sinicized Buddhism. To complicate matters even more, there is also the possibility that a third parameter, Zhuangzi, should be included in this web of thoughts. Demiéville depicts the period as being one of 'philosophical and religious sterility' for Confucianism.¹⁹⁰ Zhuangzi, on the other hand experienced 'revival' brought on by the advent of, and fusion with, Buddhism. The ancient thigh cutter Jie Zitui (see p. 11) may even have surfaced again as a paragon of loyalty.

¹⁸⁹ Ban Ruo 般若 et al., trans., *Dacheng bensheng xindiguan jing* 大乘本生心地觀經, in *Dazangjing* 大藏經, p. 297.

2d. The cannibalism of 'others'

The final group is of the kind that Arens describes. Tribes on the fringes of the empire, foreign hostages and Catholics are all accused of cannibalism. Accounts are found in either the sections devoted to ethnography or as rumours responsible for serious turmoil. Since they are rather few they are all found here and not in the Translations.

Ethnography

The oldest account comes from the *Hou Hanshu* and gives the following description of a people living to the west of the southern *Man* 蠻.

其西有噉人國，生首子輒解而食之，謂之宜弟。味旨，則以遺其君，君喜而賞其父。

To the west of them lies the Country of Maneaters. When their first son is born he is dissected and eaten. They call this proper behaviour towards the younger brothers. If the taste is delicious he is offered as a gift to the sovereign. The sovereign will, if pleased, reward his father.¹⁹¹

According to the *Liangshu*, the Piqian 毗騫 kingdom lies 8000 *li* south of Funan 扶南 (corresponding to lower Cambodia).

國法刑罪人，並於王前噉其肉。國內不受估客，有往者亦殺而噉之，是以商旅不敢至。

When criminals are punished according to the law of the kingdom, their flesh is eaten in front of the king. They do not accept traders. If anyone comes, he is likewise killed and eaten. It is because of this that merchants and travellers do not dare to go there.¹⁹²

The following is a very puzzling account, also from the *Liangshu*. It does not fit in this group as an example of the Arens kind. It is ethnographic but unlike the others it is not the 'other' who is accused of cannibalism.

To find this people one should go south from Japan by boat for a year and then 10,000 *li* to the South West.

又西南萬里有海人，身黑眼白，裸而醜。其肉美，行者或射而食之。

10,000 *li* further to the south-west live the ocean people. They are naked and ugly with black skin and white eyes. Their flesh is delicious. Some travellers shoot and eat them.¹⁹³

The above comes from the section dealing with barbarians (*Zhuyi liezhuan* 諸夷列傳). Surrounding it are descriptions of other peoples. What is different is that the

¹⁹⁰ Demiéville, pp. 808–72.

¹⁹¹ *Hou Hanshu*, p. 2834. This people is again referred to as having the habit of eating people in a commentary on p. 332.

¹⁹² *Liangshu*, p. 787; slightly different version in *Nanshi*, p. 1951.

¹⁹³ Found both in *Liangshu*, p. 807 and *Nanshi*, p. 1975.

'ocean people' are not described as having a kingdom. There is no *hairenguo* 海人國 ocean people kingdom, just 海人—ocean people. In fact, the *hairen* do not have anything except for their looks. The casual reference to the taste of their flesh is of course the most enigmatic part of the account. One solution to the riddle could be that *hairen* originally referred to some kind of sea mammal. But then again, would an animal be called naked and ugly? Its uniqueness and the many questions surrounding its translation and interpretation deter further speculation.

The following is a description of the habits of the Liao 獠 people located in the southwest of modern day China.

若殺其父，走避，求得一狗以謝其母，母得狗謝，不復嫌恨。若報怨相攻擊，必殺而食之。

If one kills one's father, then one must run off to try to find a dog as an apology to one's mother. On receiving the apology in the shape of the dog, she will harbour no more resentment. If she is still not satisfied mother and son will attack each other. He must then kill and eat her.¹⁹⁴

The following two references come from the famous first description of Taiwan, then known as Liuquiuguo 流求國.

收取鬥死者，共聚而食之，仍以鬻體將向王所。

When the dead in battle are collected, all of them gather and eat them up. The skulls are usually taken to the abode of the king.¹⁹⁵

南境風俗少異，人有死者，邑里共食之。

In the southern regions traditions are a little different. When someone dies he is eaten by all the villagers.¹⁹⁶

Rumours

The following is from the part on rumours in the five elements section of the *Songshu*. Foreigners inside the empire are accused of eating children. The ensuing turmoil brings on a thorough investigation of the matter.

322

晉元帝永昌元年，寧州刺史王遜遣子澄入質，將渝、濮雜夷數百人。京邑民忽訛言寧州人大食人家小兒，親有見其蒸煮滿釜甑中者。又云失兒皆有主名，婦人尋道，拊心而哭。於是百姓各禁錄小兒，不得出門。尋又言已得食人之主，官當大航頭大杖考竟。而日有四五百人晨聚航頭，以待觀行刑。朝廷之士相問者，皆曰信然，或言郡縣文書已上。王澄大懼，檢測之，事了無形，民家亦未嘗有失小兒者，然後知其訛言也。此二事，干寶云未之能論。

In the first year of Emperor Yuan of Jin's Yongchang reign, Wang Xun, the regional inspector of Ningzhou, sent his son Deng to enter the hostage system and received one hundred of Yu, Pu and other assorted barbarians in return. Suddenly there was a rumour in the capital that the people of Ningzhou were devouring other people's children; someone had personally seen what was boiling in their brimming cauldrons. It was also said that those who had lost children knew the name of the principal offender, that women searched the streets clutching themselves and crying. Then people began confining their children

¹⁹⁴ Found in both *Weishu*, p. 2249 and *Beishi*, p. 3155.

¹⁹⁵ *Suishu*, p. 1823; slightly different version in *Beishi*, p. 3133.

¹⁹⁶ *Suishu*, p. 1824; slightly different version in *Beishi*, p. 3134.

and not allowing them to leave the house. Soon it was also said that the leader of the man-eaters had already been apprehended and interrogated with the heavy bamboo by officials at Dahangtou. In the morning of the following day 4-500 people gathered and waited at Hangtou to witness the punishment being carried out. When noblemen at court asked each other about it they all said they believed it. Someone said that it was already in the books of the commanderies and districts. Wang Deng, who was very frightened by all this, investigated the matter and found that it was groundless; there never were any lost children. Thus it could be determined that it was only a rumour. About these two matters Gan Bao said: 'They never happened, that's for sure.'¹⁹⁷

Another rumour from the reign Emperor Dezong 德宗 is found in *Jiu Tangshu*. Judging from its having been mentioned in the basic annals, it probably created serious, maybe even political turmoil.

782

江淮訛言有毛人捕人，食其心，人情大恐。

In the Jianghuai area there was a rumour saying that hairy people caught other people and ate their hearts. People were greatly alarmed.¹⁹⁸

Finally, two more rumours about strange people being cannibals.

980

時民間訛言，有白頭翁午後食人兒女，一郡囂然。

At the time there was a false rumour regarding a white-haired old man who ate people's sons and daughters in the afternoon. The whole commandery was in an uproar.¹⁹⁹

1869

初，天津喧傳天主教堂迷拐幼孩，抉眼割心為藥料，人情洶洶。

Firstly, a rumour in Tianjin said that the Catholic Church abducted children, cut out their eyes and hearts and used them as medicine. People's feelings overflowed.²⁰⁰

Comments

Unlike the other groups, there are no cases of cannibalism in this category. The ethnographical accounts describe traditions, not certain events, and the rumours are contemporarily judged as groundless. The accounts presented here comprise all that are found in the *Histories*, thus they are very few. It seems that these accounts were included only when the rumours had created major turmoil. In many accounts an investigation is made, the spreaders of the rumour sought after and punished. The primary objective is to quell the disturbance. Thus, no investigation is launched if cannibalism is found on the Liuqiu Islands, since it does not really matter politically: no action needs to be taken and no rewards need be handed out. It might, therefore, be inferred that the starvation-related cases, or any case having political implications, probably went through some kind of similar evaluation before they were accepted.

¹⁹⁷ *Songshu*, pp. 901-02.

¹⁹⁸ *Jiu Tangshu*, p. 334; slightly different version in *Xin Tangshu*, p. 922.

¹⁹⁹ *Songshi*, p. 9801.

²⁰⁰ *Qingshi gao*, p. 4564.

3. Translations

a. Starvation-related accounts

Shiji 史記 (Sima Qian 司馬遷)

593 B.C. 王問：「城中何如？」曰：「析骨而炊，易子而食。」莊王曰：「誠哉言！我軍亦有二日糧。」以信故，遂罷兵去。

The king asked: 'What is the situation within the walls?' Zifan answered: 'Bones are split for fuel and children are exchanged and eaten.' King Zhuang said: 'Sincere words indeed. My troops have only two days' provisions.' Because he believed in this the troops were withdrawn. (p. 1629)

593 B.C. 圍宋五月，城中食盡，易子而食，析骨而炊。宋華元出告以情。莊王曰：「君子哉！」遂罷兵去。

Song had been beleaguered for five months, and food supplies within the walls were exhausted. Children were being exchanged and eaten, and their bones split for fuel. Hua Yuan went out to make their situation known. King Zhuang said: 'A gentleman indeed.' And withdrew his troops. (pp. 1702-03)

593 B.C. 食人炊骨，士無反外之心，是孫臏之兵也。

When officers harbour no thoughts of rebellion although people are eaten and their bones burned, they can be called soldiers of Sun Bin's. (p. 2466)

455 B.C. 城中懸釜而炊，易子而食。

Within the walls, cauldrons were hung up and heated. Children were exchanged and eaten. (p. 1795)

291 B.C. 李同曰：「邯鄲之民，炊骨易子而食，可謂急矣，而君之後宮以百數，婢妾被綺縠，餘梁肉，而民褐衣不完，糟糠不厭。」

Li Tong said: 'It can really be said to be serious when the people of Handan burn bones, exchange children and eat them. The king's concubines, who can be counted in the hundreds, don the finest silk garments and enjoy an excess of foods while the people do not even have enough of the coarsest garments and cannot eat their fill of dregs and husks.' (p. 2369)

259 B.C. 至九月，趙卒不得食四十六日，皆內陰相殺食。

By the ninth month the Zhao soldiers had been without food for 46 days. Secretly they killed and ate each other. (p. 2335)

140 B.C. 臣過河南，河南貧人傷水旱萬餘家，或父子相食，臣謹以便宜，持節發河南倉粟以振貧民。

When I passed through Henan there were more than 10,000 households of poor people suffering from floods and droughts. Some fathers and sons ate each other. I cautiously took the opportunity to administer a distribution of grains from the Henan granaries to help the poor. (p. 3105)

117 B.C. 是時山東被河菑，及歲不登數年，人或相食，方一二千里。天子憐之，詔曰：江南火耕水耨，令飢民得流就食江淮間，欲留，留處。

At this time Shandong was flooded by the river He and harvests could not be reaped for many years. In an area of 1-2,000 square *li* people ate each other. The Son of Heaven pitied them. The decree said: 'South of Jiang the scorch and irrigate technique is used. The starving population should be allowed to migrate to the area between the rivers Jiang and Huai for food. Those who want to stay should be given an area to live on.' (p. 1437)

Hanshu 漢書 (Ban Gu 班固)

206 B.C. 漢興，接秦之敝，諸侯並起，民失作業，而大饑饉。凡米石五千，人相食，死者過半。高祖乃令民得賣子，就食蜀漢。

When Han rose it inherited the evils of Qin. Vassals revolted, people were without livelihood, and there was widespread famine. One *shi* of rice cost 5,000 [*qian*]. People ate each other. More than half the population died. Gaozu ordered that the people be allowed to sell their sons and migrate to Shu and Han for food. (p. 1127)²⁰¹

205 B.C. 關中大飢，米斛萬錢，人相食。令民就食蜀漢。

In Guanzhong there was a severe famine. One *hu* of rice was valued at 10,000 *qian*. People ate each other. [The emperor] ordered the people to move to Shu and Han for food. (p. 38)

167 B.C. 兵旱相乘，天下大屈，有勇力者聚徒而衡擊，罷夫羸老易子而咬其骨。

Soldiers and droughts follow each other. When there are shortages in the world the brave and strong will gather followers and strike at will. Fatigued men, the weak and the old will exchange children and gnaw their bones. (p. 1129; discussion, not a specific event)

140-86 B.C. 蝗蟲大起，赤地數千里，或人民相食，畜積至今未復。

Locusts swarmed in great numbers and made bare 1,000 *li* of land. Some people ate each other and the stores have not recovered until this day. (p. 3156)

140 B.C. 臣過河內，河內貧人傷水旱萬餘家，或父子相食，臣謹以便宜，持節發河內倉粟以振貧民。

When I passed through Henei there were more than 10,000 households of poor people suffering from floods and droughts. Some fathers and sons ate each other. I cautiously took the opportunity to administer a distribution of grains from the Henei granaries to help the poor. (p. 2316)

138 B.C. 三年春，河水溢于平原，大飢，人相食。

In the spring of the third year, the river He flooded Pingyuan. There was a severe famine. People ate each other. (p. 158)

117 B.C. 是時山東被河災，及歲不登數年，人或相食，方二三千里。天子憐民，令飢民得流就食江淮間，欲留，留處。

At this time Shandong was flooded by the river He and the harvests could not be reaped for many years. In an area of 2-3,000 *li* people ate each other. The Son of Heaven pitied them and ordered that they be allowed to migrate to the area between the rivers Jiang and Huai for food. Those who wanted to stay were given an area to live on. (p. 1172)

114 B.C. 元鼎三年三月水冰，四月雨雪，關東十餘郡人相食。

In the third month of the third year in the Yuanding reign the water froze. In the fourth month there was rain and snow. In more than ten prefectures in Guandong, people ate each other. (p. 1424)

114 B.C. 夏四月，雨雹，關東郡國十餘飢，人相食。

In the summer, in the fourth month, there was rain and hail. In more than ten prefectures and kingdoms in Guandong there was a famine. People ate each other. (p. 183)

104 B.C. 仲舒死後，功費愈甚，天下虛耗，人復相食。

After Zhongshu died talents were wasted even more than before, all under heaven was impoverished and people repeatedly ate each other. (p. 1137)

48 B.C. 六月，關東大飢，民多餓死，琅邪郡人相食。

In the sixth month there was a severe famine in Guandong. Scores of people starved to death. In the Langye prefecture people ate each other. (p. 1309)

²⁰¹ Dates are in some cases unreliable. For example, this particular one is dated 206 B.C. only because of the wording: 'When Han rose...'. It could also be dated 205 B.C. and may describe the same event as the next account. For the selling of sons, titles and oneself for food, see: *Hanshu*, pp. 58, 1128; Fang Xuanling, *Jinshu*, p. 791; and Li Yanshou 李延壽, *Beishi*, p. 456.

48 B.C. 九月，關東郡國十一大水，饑，或人相食，轉旁郡錢穀以相救。

In the ninth month, eleven prefectures and kingdoms in Guandong were flooded (p. d. There was a famine. Some people ate each other. As relief, money and grain were transferred from adjacent prefectures. (p. 280)

48 B.C. 今民大飢而死，死又不葬，為犬豬食。人至相食，而廐馬食粟，若其大肥，氣盛怒至，乃日步作之。

Today people are dying from the great famine. The dead who are left unburied are eaten by dogs and pigs. As people are even driven to eating each other stable horses eat millet until they are big, fat and full of vigour, and have to be walked during the day. (p. 3070)

47 B.C. 六月，關東饑，齊地人相食。

In the sixth month there was a famine in Guandong. People in the Qi area ate each other. (p. 282; this and the following two accounts describe the same event)

47 B.C. 明年二月戊午，地震。其夏，齊地人相食。

In the following year, on the *wuwu* day of the second month, there was an earthquake. In the summer people in the Qi area ate each other. (p. 3171)

47 B.C. 二年，齊地飢，穀石三百餘，民多餓死，琅邪郡人相食。

In the second year there was a famine in Qi. One *shi* of grain cost more than 300 [*qian*]. Scores of people starved to death. In the Langye prefecture people ate each other. (p. 1142)

47 B.C. 今關東連年饑饉，百姓乏困，或至相食，此皆生於賦斂多，民所共者大，而吏安集之不稱之效也。

There has been a famine in Guandong for many years. The common people have problems nourishing themselves and some even eat each other. This is all caused by heavy land rents. The people makes great contributions but officials have failed in their efforts to pacify them. (p. 3337)

46 B.C. 今東方連年飢饉，加之以疾疫，百姓菜色，或至相食。

There has been a famine in the eastern region for many years, and on top of it plagues. People are the colour of vegetables, and some even eat each other. (p. 3177; according to Yan Shigu's commentary, *Hanshu*, p. 3178, people became discoloured from eating only vegetables).

32 B.C. 朕既不明，變異數見，歲夫不登，倉廩空虛，百姓飢饉，流離道路，疾疫死者以萬數，人至相食，盜賊並興，群職曠廢，是朕之不德而股肱不良也。

We also did not understand that the oddities frequently seen, the successive crop failures, the empty granaries, the starving people, the vagrants on the roads, the tens of thousands dead from disease, the cases of people eating each other, the bandit uprisings, the deserted duties of the masses were because we were not virtuous and the ministers not benevolent. (p. 3393)

15 B.C. 永始二年，梁國，平原郡夫年傷水災，人相食，刺史守相坐免。

In the second year of the Yongshi reign, the regional inspector and the guard administrator were dismissed because the Pingyuan prefecture and the kingdom of Liang had for many years suffered from floods and people were eating each other. (p. 1142)

14 緣邊大飢，人相食。諫大夫如普行邊兵，還言「軍士久屯塞苦，邊郡無以相贍。今單于新和，宜因是罷兵。」校尉韓威進曰：「以新室之威而吞胡虜，無異口中蚤蝨。臣願得勇敢之士五千人，不齎斗糧，飢食虜肉，渴飲其血，可以懈行。」莽壯其言，以威為將軍。

There was a severe famine at the border. People ate each other. The senior official Rupu urged [Mang] to move the border troops saying: 'They have suffered from their lengthy stationing there. The border area has no means of supplying provisions. Since the Hun leader is married into your family it would be appropriate to withdraw the troops.' The commandant Hanwei stepped forward and said: 'To someone backed by the might of the House of Xin there is no difference between swallowing barbarian prisoners and putting fleas in your mouth. If my lord is willing to let 5,000 brave men without provisions eat the flesh of their prisoners and drink their blood, they can go on.' Mang admired his words and made him general. (p. 4138)

20 鬥戰死亡，緣邊四夷所係虜，陷罪，飢疫，人相食，及莽未誅，而天下戶口植半矣。
People died in battle, were captured by the four barbarian tribes at the borders, were wrongfully accused of crimes, suffered starvation and plagues and ate each other. Before Mang was dead the world's population had decreased by half. (p. 1185)

22 北邊及青徐地人相食，雒陽以東米石二千。
In the Qingxu area in the north, people ate each other. East of Luoyang one *shi* of rice cost 2,000 [*qian*]. (p. 1145)

22 關東人相食。
People in Guandong ate each other. (p. 4175)

25 赤眉遂燒長安宮室市里，害更始。民飢饉相食，死者數十萬，長安為虛，城中無人行。
Then the Red Eyebrows burned Chang'an's temples and houses, markets and villages, and killed Gengshi. People ate each other out of starvation. The dead numbered 100,000. Chang'an lay in ruins and there were no people walking about within its walls. (p. 4193)

Hou Hanshu 後漢書 (Fan Ye 范曄)

22 漢兵攻之數月，城中糧盡，人相食，彭乃與說舉城降。
The Han soldiers attacked them for many months. Within the walls food supplies were exhausted. When people began to eat each other, Peng, Yue and the whole city surrendered. (p. 653)

22 及天下亂，人相食。
Then all under heaven fell into disorder. People ate each other. (p. 1299)

24 李熊復說述曰：「今山東飢饉，人庶相食；兵所屠滅，城邑丘墟。」
Li Xiong answered Shu: Today there is a famine in Shandong. People are eating each other. The soldiers have slaughtered everything and the city is reduced to rubble. (p. 535)

26 時三輔大飢，人相食，城郭皆空，白骨蔽野，遣人往往聚為營保，各堅守不下。
At this time there was a severe famine in the metropolitan area. People ate each other. The inner and outer city areas were both empty and the bones of the dead covered the ground. Dispatched forces united in setting up fortresses; each of which was stubbornly defended. (p. 484)

26 關中饑，民相食。
There was a famine in Guanzhong. People ate each other. (p. 31)

27 時百姓飢饉，人相食，黃金一斤易豆五升。
At this time the common people starved. People ate each other. One *jin* of gold could be exchanged for five *sheng* of beans. (p. 647)

29 昔宋執楚使，遂有析骸易子之禍。
Long ago when Song caught the messenger of Chu the disastrous result was that bones were split and children exchanged. (p. 586; dating refers to time of discussion)

29 浮城中糧盡，人相食。
In Fu's city food supplies were exhausted. People ate each other. (p. 1141)

109 三月，京師大飢，民相食。壬辰，公卿詣闕謝。詔曰：「朕以幼冲，奉承鴻業，不能宣流風化，而感逆陰陽，至令百姓飢耗，更相噉食。永懷悼歎，若墜淵水。咎在朕躬，非群司之責，而過自貶引，重朝廷之不德。其務思變復，以助不逮。」癸巳，詔以鴻池假與貧民。
In the third month there was a severe famine in the capital. People ate each other. On the *renchen* day officials gathered at court to accept the blame. The decree said: 'At a young age I humbly assumed the great task. I could not propagate morality and my feelings disturbed the balance of Yin and Yang. This has made the common people starve and repeatedly eat each other. Forever thinking about this sorrow is like falling down an abyss of water. The fault is mine, not the officials'. They shoulder the

blame when it is the virtue of the court which should be questioned. Devoting their thinking to the question of blame, help does not reach the people in need.' On the *guisi* day, the Hongchi was lent to the poor. (p. 212. Hongchi refers to a pond 10 km to the east of Luoyang)

109 是歲，京師及郡國四十一雨水雹。并涼二州大飢，人相食。
This year, in the capital and in 41 commanderies and kingdoms, there were floods and hail. In the Bing and Liang prefectures there was a severe famine. People ate each other. (p. 214)

151 京師旱。任城、梁國飢，民相食。
In the capital there was a drought. In the city of Ren and the kingdom of Liang, people ate each other. (p. 297)

155 二月，司隸、冀州飢，人相食。
In the second month there was a famine in Sili and Jizhou. People ate each other. (p. 300)

170 靈帝建寧三年春，河內婦食夫，河南夫食婦。
In the third year of Emperor Lingdi's Jianning reign, a wife in Henei ate her husband. In Henan, a husband ate his wife. (p. 3346; slightly different version on p. 331; also see de Groot, vol. 4, p. 366.)

194 是時穀一斛五十萬，豆麥一斛二十萬，人相食啖，白骨委積。
At this time, one *hu* of grain cost 500,000 [*qian*] and one *hu* of beans or wheat cost 200,000 [*qian*]. People ate each other. White bones lay cast aside in heaps. (p. 376. This and the following two accounts describe the same event)

194 是時穀一斛五十萬，豆麥二十萬，人相食啖，白骨委積，臭穢滿路。
At this time one *hu* of grain cost 500,000 [*qian*] and beans and wheat cost 200,000 [*qian*]. People ate each other. White bones lay cast aside in heaps. Putrid dirt filled the streets. (p. 2336)

194 初，帝入關，三輔戶口尚數十萬，自催汜相攻，天子東歸後長安城空四十餘日，強者四散，羸者相食，二三年間，關中無復人跡。
In the beginning when the emperor entered the pass, Sanfu still had a population of 100,000 households. After the war between Jue and Si, and the return to the east by the Son of Heaven, Chang'an stood empty for more than 40 days. The strong dispersed and the weak ate each other, and for the next two or three years there were no traces of humans to be found in Guanzhong. (p. 2341)

194 是時旱蝗少穀，百姓相食，布移屯山陽。
At this time grains were scarce because of droughts and locusts. People ate each other. Bu moved his camp to Shanyang. (p. 2446)

195 初尚掘鼠，煮筋角，後無所復食，主簿啟內廚米三斗，請稍為饘粥，洪曰：「何能獨甘此邪？」使為薄糜，偏班士眾。又殺其愛妾，以食兵將。兵將咸流涕，無能仰視。男女七八十人相枕而死，莫有離叛。
In the beginning they could still dig for rats and boil sinews and horns. In the end, when there was nothing more to eat, the recorder opened the 30 *dou* rice supply of the inner kitchen and asked for permission to make some gruel. Hong said: 'How can you do this only for yourself?' [Hong] made it into thin soup and distributed it among his troops. Moreover, he killed his favourite concubine and fed her to the soldiers. They all cried and lowered their heads in respect. Seventy to eighty men and women cuddled together and died. No one left or rebelled. (p. 1891. Dating is unreliable. Chen Shou's *Sanguozhi* 三國志, p. 236, says 7-8000 people died.)

195 是時旱蝗穀貴，民相食。
At this time grains were expensive because of droughts and locusts. People ate each other. (p. 2363)

197 是歲飢，江淮閒民相食。
This was a year of famine. The people in the area between the rivers Jiang and Huai ate each other. (p. 380)

197 加天旱歲耗，士民凍餒，江、淮閒相食殆盡。

On top of this, a drought caused crop failure. Everyone froze and starved and, in between Jiang and Huai, ate each other almost to extinction. (p. 2442)

Sanguozhi 三國志 (Chen Shou 陳壽)

194 是歲穀一斛五十餘萬錢，人相食，乃罷吏兵新募者。

This year one *hu* of grain cost more than 500,000 *qian*. People ate each other. As a consequence, the officials, soldiers and newly recruited were withdrawn. (p. 12)

194 時三輔民尚數十萬戶，催等所兵劫略，攻剽城邑，人民飢困，二年閒相啖食略盡。

At the time Sanfu still had a population of 100,000 households. But when Jue and the others let their soldiers loose and invaded the area, cities were attacked and plundered. People starved and within two years ate each other almost to extinction. (p. 182)

194 是時歲旱、蟲蝗、少穀，百姓相食，布東屯山陽。

At this time the harvest was diminished by droughts and locusts. People ate each other. Bu moved his camp eastward to Shanyang. (p. 222)

194 時歲大饑，人相食，朗收恤宗族，教訓諸弟，不為衰世解業。

At this time there was a severe famine. People ate each other. Lang had mercy on his relatives and admonished all his younger brothers that in an age of decay one should not give up one's occupation. (p. 467)

195 耗侈滋甚，後宮數百皆服綺縠，餘梁肉，而士卒凍餒，江淮閒空盡，人民相食。

The devastation and extravagances were reaching extremes. As hundreds of concubines in the lesser palaces all donned fine silk garments and enjoyed abundant foods, soldiers froze and starved, the area between the rivers Jiang and Huai lay deserted and people ate each other. (p. 209)

195 二年夏，太祖軍乘氏，大饑，人相食。

In the summer of the second year Taizu encamped at Chengshi. There was a severe famine. People ate each other. (p. 308)

238 糧盡，人相食，死者甚多。

Food supplies were exhausted. People ate each other. The dead were very many. (p. 254)

Jinshu 晉書 (Fang Xuanling 房玄齡)

又曰，所出大水大旱，五穀不收，人相食。

It is also said that there will be severe floods and droughts, that the five grains will not be harvested and that people will eat each other. (p. 326. These events are supposed to occur when the 18th of the abnormal stars [*yaoxing* 妖星], the baleful star, *pengxing* 蓬星, appears)

西北三大星出而白，名曰天狗，出則人相食，大凶。

Three big stars appearing and whitening in the northwest should be recognized as the Celestial Canine. On their appearance people will eat each other and great calamities occur. (p. 328)

一曰，流星有光，見人面，墜無音，若有足者，名曰天狗。其色白，其中黃，黃如遺火狀。主候兵討賊，見則四方相射，千里破軍殺將。或曰，五將鬥，人相食，所往之鄉有流血。

Some say that when a meteor is so radiant that people's faces become visible in the night and when it falls soundlessly, looking as if it had legs, it should be recognized as the Celestial Canine. Its colour is white with yellow in the middle. Yellow like the traces left by fire. The rulers will employ soldiers to exterminate rebels. Upon contact, arrows will be fired in all directions. Within 1,000 *li*, armies will be destroyed and generals killed. Others say that the five generals will fight, people eat each other and no matter what village one might go to there will be blood flowing. (p. 329; the passage is found also in Wei Zheng's *Suishu*, p. 575)

109 安帝永初三年，天下水旱，人民相食。帝以鴻陂之地假與貧民。
In the third year of Emperor An's Yongchu reign there were floods and droughts in the world. People ate each other. The emperor lent the land of Hongpo to the poor. (p. 781)

190 漢自董卓之亂，百姓流離，穀石至五十餘萬，人多相食。
In Han since the turmoil of Dong Zhuo, people had been homeless, a *shi* of grain fetched a price of more than 500,000 [*qian*], and people had been eating each other. (p. 783)

194 是時穀一斛五十萬，豆麥二十萬，人相食啖，白骨盈積，殘骸餘肉，臭穢道路。
At this time one *hu* of grain cost 500,000 [*qian*] and beans or wheat cost 200,000 [*qian*]. People ate each other. White bones lay amassed in heaps. Left-over skeletons and flesh sullied the streets. (p. 782)

291 及洛京耗亂，盜竊縱橫，人饑相食。
Luojing was in turmoil with bandits roaming freely and starving people eating each other. (p. 1426)

304 於是軍中大餒，人相食。
Thereafter there was widespread starvation among the soldiers. People ate each other. (p. 102)

307 時關中饑耗，百姓相噉，加以疾癘，盜賊公行。
At the time there was a famine in Guanzhong. People ate each other. In addition to this there was a plague. Bandits roamed freely. (p. 1097)

307 時大饑，賊帥侯都等每略人而食之，藩、統部曲多為所啖。
At this time there was a severe famine. The rebel leader Hou Du and the others all caught people and ate them. Many from Fan's and Hui's private armies were thus eaten. (p. 1706)

311 至是饑甚，人相食，百官流亡者十八九。
On top of this there was severe starvation. People ate each other and eight to nine out of ten officials fled. (p. 122)

311 懷帝為劉曜所圍，王師累敗，府帑既竭，百官飢甚，夫屋不見火煙，飢人自相啖食。
Emperor Huai was beleaguered by Liu Yao. The imperial army had repeatedly been defeated. When the treasury was depleted, the officials starved. For rows of houses chimney smoke was nowhere to be seen. The starving ate each other. (p. 783)

311 劉曜之逼，朝廷議欲遷都倉坦，人多相食，饑疫總至，百官流亡者十八九。
Liu Yao pressed on. The court deliberated moving the capital to Cangtan. Many ate each other. When starvation and disease finally reached them eight to nine out of ten officials fled. (p. 791)

311 城中饑窘，人相食，死亡逃奔不可來，唯涼州義眾千人守死不移。
Within the walls there was a severe famine. People ate each other. The dying and fleeing could not be controlled. Only the 1,000 strong group of loyalists in Liangzhou stood their ground and fought to their deaths. (p. 1652)

311 時京邑大饑，人相食，百姓流亡，公卿奔河陰。
At this time there was a severe famine in the capital. People ate each other and fled. The dukes and nobles ran away to Heyin. (p. 2611)

311 時城內饑甚，人皆相食，百官分散，莫有固志。
At this time there was a severe famine within the walls. Everyone ate each other. Officials dispersed. None of them had any ideals. (p. 2659)

311 北地饑甚，人相食噉，羌西大軍須運糧以給麴昌，劉雅擊敗之。
In the north there was a severe famine. People ate each other. The Qiang leader Junxu, who transported provisions to Qu Chang, was defeated by Liu Ya. (p. 2672)

316 冬十月，京師饑甚，米斗金二兩，人相食，死者太半。

In the winter, in the tenth month, there was a severe famine in the capital. One *dou* of rice cost two *liang* of silver. People ate each other. More than half the population died. (p. 130)

320 勒所過路次，皆堅壁清野，採掠無所獲，軍中大飢，士眾相食。

Wherever Le marched and camped the land lay empty. His raids were fruitless. The soldiers were starving and eating each other. (p. 2717. Dating is unreliable)

350 賊盜蜂起，司冀大饑，人相食。

Rebels swarmed. There was a severe famine in the Si and Ji regions. People ate each other. (p. 2795)

352 鄴中饑，人相食，季龍時宮人被食略盡。

In Ye there was a famine. People ate each other. In the time of Jilong the palace attendants were almost all devoured. (p. 2797)

362 時穀價踊貴，斗直五百，人相食，死者太半。

At this time grain prices rose to the cost of 500 [*wen*] for a *dou*. People ate each other. More than half the population died. (p. 3057)

386 時長安大飢，人相食，諸將歸而吐肉以飴妻子。

At this time there was a severe famine in Chang'an. People ate each other. All the commanders went home to vomit up meat for their wives and children to eat. (p. 2925)

386 左將軍竇衡、前禁將軍李辯等擊敗之，斬首千八百級，分其屍而食之。

The general of the left, Dou Chong, and the general of the van, Li Bian, defeated him, slew 1800 people, butchered their bodies and ate them. (p. 2925)

386 慕容垂軍人飢甚，多奔中山，幽冀人相食。

Murong Chui's troops were severely famished. Many ran away to Zhongshan. People of the You and Ji regions ate each other. (p. 2926)

386 是時歲旱眾飢，道殣相望，登每戰殺賊，名為熟食，謂軍人曰：「汝等朝戰，暮便飽肉，何憂於飢！」士眾從之，噉死人肉，輒飽健能鬥。

At this time a drought made crops fail and the multitudes starve. The corpses along the roads lay within eyesight of one another. Deng killed bandits in every battle and was famous for cooking and eating them. He said to his soldiers: 'If you fight at dawn, you can feast on flesh at dusk. Why worry about starving?' His men acted accordingly; ate the flesh of the dead and were always full, healthy and capable of fighting. (p. 2948)

402 元興元年四月辛丑，月奄辰星。七月，大饑，人相食。

In the fourth month of the first year of the Yuanxing reign, on the *xinchou* day, the moon eclipsed Mercury. In the seventh month, there was a severe famine. People ate each other. (p. 350)

402 姑臧穀價踊貴，斗直錢五千文，人相食，餓死者十餘萬口。

In Guzang grain prices rose to the cost of 5,000 *wen* for a *dou*. People ate each other. More than 100,000 of the inhabitants died from starvation. (p. 3071)

402 元興元年七月，大饑，人相食。

In the seventh month of the first year of the Yuanxing reign there was a severe famine. People ate each other. (p. 399)

402 其後玄遂篡位，亂京都，大饑，人相食，百姓流亡，皆其應也。

After this, Xuan's advance towards the usurpation of the throne threw the capital into chaos. A severe famine, people eating each other and fleeing was his reward. (p. 395)

Songshu 宋書 (Shen Yue 沈約)

400 時生業已盡，老弱甚多，東土饑耗，易子而食，外迫國網，內畏強讎，沈甲山草，無所投厝。
At the time, the livelihood of the people was already lost. The old and weak were many. There was a famine in the eastern region. People exchanged children and ate them. The relations between the states suffered from external pressures and internally, powerful contenders spread fear. Therefore, they hid in the wild without any refuge. (p. 2453)

402 七月，大飢，人相食。
In the seventh month there was a severe famine. People ate each other. (p. 729)

402 及孫恩亂後，東土飢耗，人相食，孔氏散家糧以賑邑里，得活者甚眾，生子皆以孔為名焉。
After the upheaval caused by Sun En there was a famine in the eastern region. People ate each other. The Kong clan's distribution of family food supplies as relief to the village saved scores of people. When these had sons, they all named them Kong. (p. 2078)

Nan Qishu 南齊書 (Xiao Zixian 蕭子顯)

漢史云：「西北有三大星，如日狀，名曰天狗。天狗出則人相食。」
Han historians said: 'If there are three big stars shaped like the sun in the north-west they should be recognized as the Celestial Canine. When the Celestial Canine appears people will eat each other.' (p. 239)

453 元嘉末，青州飢耗，人相食，善明家有積粟，躬食饘粥，開倉以救鄉里，多獲全濟，百姓呼其家田為續命田。
At the end of the Yuanjia reign, there was a famine in Qingzhou. People ate each other. Although Shanming's family had a supply of grain, they still ate gruel and used their granary to help the village. Many were thus saved. People called the fields of his family the Fields of Life Extension. (p. 522)

499 永元元年，顯達督平北將軍崔慧景眾軍四萬，圍南鄉界馬圈城，去襄陽三百里，攻之四十日，虜食盡，噉死人肉及樹皮，外圍既急，虜突走，斬獲千計。
In the first year of the Yongyuan reign Xianda gave General Cui Huijing, the pacifier of the north, the assignment of gathering 40,000 men to beleaguer Nanqing and disengaging Maquancheng at a distance of 300 li from Xiangyang. The battle lasted for 40 days. When the food supplies of the Lus were exhausted they ate the flesh of the dead and tree bark. As the encirclement became critical the Lus broke through. One thousand of the fleeing were killed and captured. (p. 491. *Jie* 界 here should have a *tu* 土 radical to the left)

Liangshu 梁書 (Yao Silian 姚思廉)

502 時益部兵亂日久，民廢耕農，內外苦饑，人多相食，道路斷絕，季連計窮。
By the time this happened, the Yi troops had already been causing turmoil for a long time. There were abandoned fields, starvation and other hardships both inside and outside the city walls, the people were eating each other and the roads were cut off. Jilian's plans were exhausted. (p. 199)

502 蜀中喪亂已二年矣，城中食盡，升米三千，亦無所糴，餓死者相枕。其無親黨者，又殺而食之。
In Shu the turmoil had continued for two years. Within the walls food supplies were exhausted. One *sheng* of rice cost 3,000 [*qian*] but none was bought. Those who were starving to death lay on top of each other. Those among them without relatives were killed and eaten. (p. 310)

549 是月，九江大饑，人相食十四五。
This month there was a severe famine in Jiujiang. Four to five out of ten inhabitants ate each other. (p. 105)

549 景食稍盡，至是米斛數十萬，人相食者十五六。
Jing's food supplies were almost exhausted. It got to the point when one *hu* of rice cost several hundred thousand [*qian*] and five to six out of ten inhabitants ate each other. (p. 845)

550 自春迄夏，大饑，人相食，京師尤甚。

From spring until summer there was a severe famine. People ate each other. In the capital conditions were especially critical. (p. 106)

Chenshu 陳書 (Yao Silian 姚思廉)

551 時東土兵亂，人飢相食，告糴無處，察家口既多，並採野蔬自給。

At this time land in the eastern region was not cultivated because of the turmoil. People starved and ate each other. Grain was nowhere to be bought. Since there were many mouths to feed in Cha's family they also gathered wild plants to sustain themselves. (p. 348)

Weishu 魏書 (Wei Shou 魏收)

402 沮渠蒙遜、禿髮嚙檀頻來攻擊，河西之民，不得農植，穀價涌貴，斗直錢五千文，人相食，餓死者千餘口。

Juqu Mengxun and Tufa Nutan attacked repeatedly. Since people west of the He river were not able to till their fields the price for a *dou* of grain rose to 5,000 *wen*. People ate each other. More than 1,000 of the inhabitants died from starvation. (p. 2087)

423 長安大飢，人民相食。

There was a severe famine in Chang'an. People ate each other. (p. 2078)

431 赫連定遣其北平公韋伐率眾一萬攻南安，城內大饑，人相食。

He Lianding dispatched his Duke of Northern Peace, Wei Fa, commanding a force of 10,000 men, to attack Nan'an. Inside the city there was a severe famine. People ate each other. (p. 2200)

462 二年三月，災惑入鬼。是謂稼穡不成，且曰萬人相食。

In the third month of the second year Mars entered *Gui*. When this happens it means that the harvest will not ripen and that 10,000 people will eat each other. (p. 2409)

475 飢寒切身，易子而食。

Starvation and cold close in on them. Children are exchanged and eaten. (p. 1349; discussion, not a specific event)

488 占曰「大旱歲耗，人且相食，國易政，君失宮，遠期五年」。

The prognostication read: 'There will be severe droughts and crop failure. People will also eat each other. Political policies of the kingdom will change and the ruler will lose his palace. This will last for as long as five years.' (p. 2418)

528 至是城民大飢，人相食。

This went on until the city's inhabitants suffered from severe starvation and ate each other. (p. 1531)

548 衍城內大饑，人相食，米一斗八十萬，皆以人肉雜牛馬而賣之。軍人共於德陽堂前立市，屠一牛得絹三千匹，賣一狗得錢二十萬。皆燠鼠捕雀而食之，至是雀鼠皆盡，死者相枕。

In Yan's city, there was a severe famine. People ate each other. One *dou* of rice cost 800,000 [*qian*]. Everywhere, human flesh mixed with beef and horse meat was sold. Outside the Deyang hall, soldiers set up a market. For a slaughtered cow, they received 3,000 bolts of thin silk and for a dog 200,000 *qian*. Everyone smoked out rats and caught sparrows to eat. When the sparrows and rats were all gone, people lay down and died. (p. 2185; slightly different version in Li Yanshou, *Nanshi* 南史, p. 2004)

Bei Qishu 北齊書 (Li Boyao 李百藥)

555 城中食少，糧運阻絕，無以為計，唯煮槐楮、桑葉並紵根、水萍、葛、艾等草及靴、皮帶、魴角等物而食之。人有死者，即取其肉，火別分噉，唯留骸骨。

Within the walls, there were food shortages. Since provisions had been cut off, plans [to alleviate the crisis] could not be made. The only things remaining to be cooked and eaten ranged from scholar tree,

paper mulberry and mulberry leaves, *Zhu* roots, duckweed, kudzu [roots], mugwort and such weeds to objects such as boots, leather straps, sinews and horns. When someone died, his flesh was removed to be cooked and eaten in pieces. Only the bones were spared. (p. 2185; slightly different version in Li Yanshou, *Nanshi* 南史, p. 2004)

Nanshi 南史 (Li Yanshou 李延壽)

402 及孫恩亂後，東土饑耗，人相食，孔氏散家糧以振邑里，得活者甚眾，生子皆以孔為名焉。
After the upheaval caused by Sun En there was a famine in the eastern region. People ate each other. The Kong clan's distribution of family food supplies as relief to the village saved scores of people. When these had sons they all named them Kong. (p. 919)

453 元嘉末，青州饑耗，人相食。
At the end of the Yuanjia reign there was a famine in Qingzhou. People ate each other. (p. 1228)

499 攻之四十日，魏軍食盡，噉死人肉及樹皮。
They attacked them for 40 days. When the Wei troops ran out of food they ate the flesh of the dead and tree bark. (p. 1135)

502 城中餓死者相枕，又從而相食。
Within the walls those who had starved to death lay on top of each other. Then there were also those who ate each other. (p. 363)

502 時益州兵亂既久，人廢耕農，內外苦飢，人多相食，道路斷絕。
By the time this happened, the Yizhou troops had already been causing turmoil for a long time. There were abandoned fields, starvation and other hardships both inside and outside the city walls, the people were eating each other and the roads were cut off. (p. 1368)

532 廣陵沃壤，遂為之耗，至人相食噉。
The Guangling area was fertile but because of him it lay barren. People finally ate each other. (p. 1281)

548 景食石頭常平倉既盡，便掠居人，爾後米一升七八萬錢，人相食，有食其子者。
When Jing had finished the Shitou relief granary he raided the inhabitants. After a while one *sheng* of rice cost 7-80,000 *qian*. People ate each other. There were those who ate their own children. (p. 2001)

548 景食稍盡，人相食者十五六。
Jing's provisions were almost exhausted. Five to six out of ten inhabitants ate each other. (p. 2003)

549 是月，九江大饑，人相食者十四五。
This month there was a severe famine in Jiujiang. Four to five out of ten inhabitants ate each other. (p. 230)

550 自春迄夏大旱，人相食，都下尤甚。
From spring until summer there was a severe drought. People ate each other. In the capital conditions were especially critical. (p. 230)

Beishi 北史 (Li Yanshou 李延壽)

431 城內大飢，人相食。
Inside the city there was a severe famine. People ate each other. (p. 3081)

531 于時年凶，人多相食，昕勤恤人隱，多所全濟。
At this time there was crop failure. Scores of people ate each other. Xin felt for the distraught people strongly and saved the lives of many. (p. 883)

536 是歲，關中大飢，人相食，死者十七八。

This year there was a severe famine in Guanzhong. People ate each other. Seven to eight out of ten died. (p. 176)

616 六軍不息，百役繁興，行者不歸，居者失業，人饑相食，邑落為墟，上弗之恤也。

The six imperial armies struggled relentlessly. Hundreds of conscripts were raised. Those who were sent out never came back. The inhabitants lost their livelihood. People starved and ate each other. The city was reduced to rubbles. No pity came from the above. (p. 472)

616 後頗得江都傾覆消息，又糧盡，男女相食，眾心離駭。

Afterwards they received news of the fall of Jiangdu. There was also food shortage, men and women eating each other and fear in the hearts of the people. (p. 2859)

618 流血成川澤，死人如亂麻，炊者不及析骸，食者不遑易子。

Streaming blood formed rivers and pools. The dead were everywhere like wild-growing hemp. There was neither time to split the bones before burning them, nor to exchange the children before eating them. (*Beishi*, p. 476 and *Suishu*, p. 96; a general comment on the disasters at the end of the Sui dynasty, not a description of a certain event)

Suishu 隋書 (Wei Zheng 魏徵)

狼一星，在東井東南。狼為野將，主侵掠。色有常，不欲變動也。角而變色動搖，盜賊萌，胡兵起，人相食。

The Wolf, a solitary star, is found south-east of the Eastern Well. The Wolf is the star of the rebel commanders and controls their campaigns. When its colours are normal, it does not wish to change or move. If horns of light begin to protrude, and it changes colour and shimmers; bandits will multiply, barbarian troops will rebel and people will eat each other (pp. 552–53. 'The Wolf' corresponds to Sirius).

亦曰，西北三星，大而白，名曰天狗。見則大兵起，天下饑，人相食。

It is also said that three big and white stars in the north-west should be recognized as the Celestial Canine. On their appearance there will be major uprisings, famine under heaven and people shall eat each other (p. 568).

飛星大如缶若甕，後皎然白，星滅後，白者曲環如車輪，此謂解銜。其國人相斬為爵祿，此謂自相齧食。

When a meteor becomes as big as a *fou* or a *weng* vessel, shines bright white, disappears and then leaves a white circle resembling a cart wheel it means 'control'. The people of this country will kill each other for titles and salaries. This is called to gnaw-eat oneself (p. 575).

549 七月，九江大饑，人相食十四五。

In the seventh month there was a severe famine in Jiujiang. Four to five out of ten inhabitants ate each other. (pp. 595–96)

610 易子析骸，未能相告，況是足食足兵，高城深塹，坐待強援，綽有餘力。

Even if children were to be exchanged and eaten and their bones split for fuel, there would be no way of reporting this. Moreover, there is enough to eat and there are enough soldiers, the walls are high and the moats are deep, therefore we have more than enough strength to sit and wait for our powerful reinforcements to arrive. (p. 1141)

613 初皆剝樹皮以食之，漸及於葉，皮葉皆盡，乃煮土或搗稿為末而食之。其後人乃相食。

In the beginning everyone peeled trees to eat the bark. Then they began eating the leaves and when there were no more leaves or bark they finally ate boiled soil or pounded straws. After this people ate each other. (pp. 688–89. *Gao* 稿 should have *he* 禾 below and *cao* 艸 on top)

616 六軍不息，百役繁興，行者不歸，居者失業，人飢相食，邑落為墟，上不之恤也。

The six imperial armies struggled relentlessly. Hundreds of conscripts were raised. Those who left

never came back. The inhabitants lost their livelihood. People starved and ate each other. Cities were reduced to rubble. No pity came from the above. (p. 95)

616 歲餘，頗得外生口，城中微知江都傾覆。又糧食乏絕，人不聊生，男女相食，眾心離駭。
After more than a year had passed they realized through news received from the captives that Jiangdu had fallen. Food supplies were also exhausted, people had nothing on which to live, men and women ate each other and there was fear in the hearts of the people. (p. 1655)

617 宮觀鞠為茂草，鄉亭絕其煙火，人相啖食，十而四五。
Palaces and temples were overgrown with grass and no smoke came from the homes of officials. Four to five out of ten ate each other. (p. 673)

Jiu Tangshu 舊唐書 (Liu Xu 劉昫)

617 於是百姓大餓，死者如積，人多相食。軍中罄竭，無所虜掠，乃取嬰兒蒸而噉之，因令軍士曰：「食之美者，寧過於人肉乎！但令他國有人，我何所慮。」即勒所部，有略得婦人小兒皆烹之，分給軍士，乃稅諸城堡，取小弱男女以益兵糧。
Thereupon the people suffered from severe starvation. Scores of them died and many ate each other. The soldiers, who were without provisions and had nothing to plunder, began to cook and eat infants. He therefore proclaimed: 'Of all exquisite foods, does any surpass human flesh? As long as there are people in the other kingdoms what have I to worry about?' All divisions were instructed that if they captured women and children they were all to be boiled and shared by the officers. Following this, all cities and villages were liable to hand in their children to add to the soldiers' provisions. (Liu Xu, *Jiu Tangshu*, p. 2275; slightly different version in Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Tangshu*, p. 3728)

618 孝恭進擊朱粲，破之，諸將曰：「此食人賊也，為害實深，請坑之。」孝恭曰：「不可。自此已東，皆為寇境，若聞此事，豈有來降者乎？」
When Xiaogong attacked and defeated Zhu Can his generals said: 'These are man-eating thieves. The damage they cause is truly great. We therefore ask that they be executed.' Xiaogong replied: 'This will not be done. Eastward from here is all bandit territory. If they hear about it, will they still come and surrender?' (p. 2347; slightly different version in *Xin Tangshu*, p. 3522)

619 又屬年饑，人相食，軌傾家賑之，私家罄盡，不能周遍。
There had also been a famine for many years. People ate each other. Gui ruined family properties in order to help them. When the private households were all empty, there was still not enough for everyone. (p. 2250)

620 世充屯兵不散，倉粟日盡，城中人相食。
The troops stationed by Shichong never dispersed. Grain stores were depleted in a day. Within the city walls people ate each other. (p. 2233)

682 京師人相食，寇盜縱橫。
In the capital people ate each other. Robbers and bandits roamed freely. (p. 110)

682 時關中大飢，人相食，盜賊縱橫。
At the time people ate each other within the passes. Robbers and bandits roamed freely. (p. 2630)

716 昔魏時山東有蝗傷稼，緣小忍不除，致使苗稼總盡，人至相食；後秦時有蝗，禾稼及草木俱盡，牛馬至相噉毛。
During the ancient Wei dynasty locusts damaged crops in Shandong. Because they were tolerated as a minor nuisance and not eradicated they ultimately caused the extinction of all sprouts and the eating of people by each other. At the time of the Later Qin dynasty there were locusts that finished everything from crops to grass and trees. In the end, cattle and horses ate each others' hair. (p. 3025)

757 旻在圍中一年，救兵不至，晝夜苦戰，人相食。
Jiong was beleaguered for a year. Reinforcements never arrived. Bitter fights went on day and night. People ate each other. (p. 3362)

757 尹子奇攻圍既久，城中糧盡，易子而食，析骸以爨，人心危恐，慮將有變。巡乃出其妾，對三軍殺之，以饗軍士，曰：諸公為國家戮力守城，一心無二，經年乏食，忠義不衰。巡不能自割肌膚，以啖將士，豈可惜此婦人，坐視危迫。將士皆泣下，不忍食，巡強令食之。乃括城中婦人，既盡，以男夫老小繼之，所食人口二三萬，人心終不離變。

Because Yi Ziqi's siege had lasted for a long time, food supplies within the walls were exhausted, children were being exchanged and eaten and their bones split for fuel. People had fear in their hearts and thought that there would be a mutiny. Because of this Xun fetched his concubine, killed her in front of the army and presented her to the soldiers saying: 'Brothers, for the sake of your country you have defended this city with united efforts. You have done so wholeheartedly and in spite of one year of inadequate provisions your loyalty has never faltered. I am not able to cut my own flesh to feed you, but how can I take pity on this woman and just sit by and watch the dangers?' As tears rolled down their faces the soldiers were unable to eat. Xun forcefully ordered them to eat her. When the city's other women had perished, old men and small boys followed. Twenty to thirty thousand people were eaten. Still, at the bottom of their hearts, they remained loyal. (pp. 4900–01; slightly different version in *Xin Tangshu*, p. 5538)

初圍城之日，城中數萬口，今婦人老幼，相食殆盡，張中丞殺愛妾以啖軍人，今見存之數，不過數千，城中之人，分當餓賊。

In the beginning of the siege there were 10,000 people within the walls. Now, when women, elderly and children have been eaten almost to extinction and Vice Censor-in-chief Zhang has killed his beloved concubine and fed her to the soldiers, the remaining number of people does not exceed 1,000. Inhabitants take turns acting as baits for the rebels. (p. 4901)

758 明年，改乾元元年，偽德州刺史王曠、貝州刺史宇文寬等皆歸順，河北諸軍各以城守累月，賊使蔡希德、安太清急擊，復陷於賊，虜之以歸，饗食其肉。

The reign name changed the following year and became the first year of the Qianyuan period. The illegitimate prefects of Dezhou and Beizhou, Wang Jian and Yu Wenkuan both surrendered. North of the river He troops guarded their cities for several months. The rebels caused Cai Xide and An Taiqing to make hurried attacks during which they were repeatedly trapped. The prisoners were sent back and their flesh cut to pieces and eaten. (p. 5373)

759 慶緒自十月被圍至二月，城中人相食，米斗錢七萬餘，鼠一頭直數千，馬食隕牆麥麥及馬糞濯而飼之。

Qingxu was beleaguered from the tenth month to the second. Within the city walls people ate each other. One *dou* of rice cost more than 70,000 *qian*, a rat was valued in the thousands. Horses ate wheat chaff off collapsed walls and cleaned horse dung. (p. 5373. The second *mai* 麥 should have *yi* 弋 on the right)

759 王師雖眾，軍無統帥，進退無所承稟，自冬徂春，竟未破賊，但引漳水以灌其城，城中食盡，易子而食。

Although the royal troops were numerous they had no supreme commander, and thus orders to advance or retreat were not received properly. From winter to spring they had still not subdued the rebels; however, water from the Zhang river had been diverted to flood the city. Within the city walls food supplies were exhausted. Children were exchanged and eaten. (p. 3453)

760 時大霧，自四月雨至閏月末不太。米價翔貴，人相食，餓死者委骸于路。

At this time it was very foggy. It rained continuously from the fourth month until the end of the leap month. Rice prices soared, people ate each other and the bones of those who had starved to death lay strewn along the roads. (p. 259)

760 是月，逆賊史思明再陷東都，米價踊貴，斗至八百文，人相食，殍尸蔽地。

This month the rebel Shi Siming attacked Dongdu again. The price of one *dou* of rice soared to 800 *wen*. People ate each other. The bodies of the starved covered the ground. (p. 1324; also p. 1361)

761 時洛陽四面數百里，人相食，州縣為墟。

For hundreds of *li* around Luoyang there were people eating each other and prefectures and counties lay in ruins. (p. 5382; slightly different version in *Xin Tangshu*, p. 6432)



772 廷玠嬰城固守，連年受敵，兵盡食竭，人易子而食，卒無叛者，卒能保全城守。

Tingjie closed the city and defended it firmly. For years he withstood the enemy. The soldiers' food supplies were finished and children were exchanged and eaten. The soldiers, amongst whom there were no rebels, were able to preserve the city garrison intact. (p. 3848)

782 軍興已來，此事闕廢，或因凶耗流散，餓死相食者，不可勝紀。

Ever since the soldiers rose this matter has been neglected. Those who have fled because of famine, starved to death or eaten each other are too many to be recorded. (p. 2125)

822 播至淮南，屬歲旱儉，人相啖食，課最不充，設法掊斂，夫屋嗟怨。

When Bo arrived in Huainan, harvests had for many years been affected by droughts. People ate each other. He taxed those who had the least and also established new taxation laws. In every house there were sighs of hatred to be heard. (p. 4277)

828 屬歲旱儉，人至相食，楚均富贍貧，而無流亡者。

For many years harvests had been affected by droughts. People even ate each other. Chu leveled the properties of the rich to help the poor. No one fled. (p. 4462)

855 穀食既盡，淮南之民多為賊所噉。

When food supplies were exhausted, many of the people of Huainan were eaten by the rebels. (p. 4467)

一日，賊軍乘間，步騎徑入湘壘，淮卒五千人皆被生繫送徐州，為賊蒸而食之。

One day, the rebel army took advantage of this opportunity and marched by foot and on horseback into Xiang's camp. The 5,000 Huai soldiers were caught alive and sent to Xuzhou where they were cooked and eaten by the rebels. (p. 4467)

883 賊既乏食，啖人為儲，軍士四出，則鹽屍而從。

When the bandits ran out of food, they both ate and stored people, and when the regular troops set out in the four directions they brought with them salted corpses. (p. 5398; slightly different version in *Xin Tangshu*, p. 6465)

883 賊圍陳郡三百日，關東仍歲無耕稼，人餓倚牆壁間，賊俘人而食，日殺數千。賊有春磨砮，為巨碓數百，生納人於臼碎之，合骨而食，其流毒若是。

The rebels beleaguered the Chen prefecture for 300 days. In Guandong still no ploughing or sowing could be done. Starving people leaned on the walls of houses for support. Rebels caught people and ate them. One thousand were killed every day. The rebels had a threshing mill equipped with a hundred giant pestles. People were inserted alive into the mortar, crushed whole with their bones and eaten. This is how evil they were. (p. 5397. Cf. also *Jiu Tangshu*, p. 717, *Xin Tangshu*, pp. 6462–63 and Ouyang Xiu, *Xin Wudaishi*, p. 461).

886 荊南、襄陽仍歲蝗旱，米斗三十千，人多相食。

In Jingnan and Xiangyang crops were still afflicted by locusts and droughts. One *dou* of rice cost 30,000 [*qian*]. Many ate each other. (p. 724. The odd 三十千 Ma is corrected to 3000 according to *Xin Tangshu*, p. 899)

887 駢家屬並在道院，秦彥供給甚薄，薪蒸亦闕，奴僕徹延和閣欄檻煮革帶食之，互相篡啖。

Pian's dependants were all put in the Taoist monastery. What Qin Yan provided them with was very insufficient. Since firewood was also lacking, the slaves removed the railings and thresholds of the Yanhe pavilion to boil and eat leather belts. They also caught and ate each other. (pp. 4711–12)

889 五六年間，民無耕織，千室之邑，不存一二，歲即凶耗，皆膾人而食，喪亂之酷，未之前聞。

Over a period of five to six years people were without livelihood. Of cities of 1,000 houses, there were not one or two left. Then came the crop failure. Everywhere humans were chopped to pieces and eaten. The cruelties caused by the turmoil had never been heard of before. (p. 737)

Xin Tangshu 新唐書 (Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修)

619 屬荐飢，人相食，軌毀家貲賑之，不能給，議發倉粟，曹珍亦勸之。

There had been recurring famine. People ate each other. Gui ruined family properties in order to help them. When there was nothing more to give, he memorialized the throne about a distribution of grain from the granaries. Cao Zhen also advised him to do so. (p. 3710)

621 世充糧且盡，人相食，至以水汨泥去礫，取浮土糲米屑為餅。

Shichong's provisions were exhausted. People ate each other. They even took out gravel from muddy pools of water and made cakes of floating soil and rice husks. (p. 3695)

659 人飢相食，夫入塞，餘兵纔二十之一。

People starved and ate each other. Of those who entered the pass only one in twenty remained. (p. 4141)

682 是月，大蝗，人相食。

This month there were great swarms of locusts. People ate each other. (p. 77)

682 永淳元年，關中及山南州二十六饑，京師人相食。

In the first year of the Yongchun reign there was famine in 26 of the Guanzhong and Shannan prefectures. In the capital people ate each other. (p. 898)

683 時關內大饑，人相食，良嗣政上嚴，每盜發，三日內必禽，號稱神明。

At the time there was a severe famine in Guannei. People ate each other. Liangsi's rule was very stern. Every time bandits set out he caught them within three days. He was called a god. (p. 3991)

716 昔魏世山東蝗，小忍不除，至人相食；後秦有蝗，草木皆盡，牛馬至相噉毛。

During the ancient Wei dynasty locusts plagued Shandong. Because they were tolerated as a minor nuisance and not eradicated it resulted in people eating each other. At the time of the Later Qin dynasty there were locusts that finished all the grass and trees. In the end, cattle and horses ate each others' hair. (p. 4384-85; 716 refers to date of discussion)

757 炁被圍凡一年，晝夜戰，人至相食，卒無救。

Jiong was beleaguered for a whole year. Battles went on day and night. People ate each other. No forces came to rescue. (p. 4752)

757 城孤糧盡，外救不至，猶奮羸起病，摧鋒陷堅，三軍噉膚而食，知死不叛。

The city was isolated and no food supplies or rescue came. Still they fought weariness and disease, destroyed the enemy's weaponry and attacking his center, they ate human flesh as food and did not rebel although they knew they were going to die.

議者罪巡以食人，愚巡以守死，臣竊痛之。

Critics have blamed Xun for eating humans and have ridiculed him for his win or die resistance. Myself, I look upon him humbly and in painful compassion.

假巡守城之初，已計食人，損數百眾以全天下，臣尚謂功過相掩，況非素志乎？

If Xun in the beginning of his defence had already planned to eat people and lose a few hundred for the purpose of unification, I would still say that merits and faults cancel each other out and also ask whether it is not a question of eternal ideals. (pp. 5777-78)

759 城中糧盡，人相食。

Within the walls provisions were exhausted. People ate each other. (p. 4602)

782 至是趙贊又言：自軍興，常平倉廢垂三十年，凶耗潰散，餓死相食，不可勝紀。

To this Zhao Zan added: 'Ever since the soldiers rose 30 years ago the Ever Normal Granaries have been out of use. Those fleeing from famine or dying and eating each other of starvation are too many to be recorded.' (p. 1352)

806-821 遠誠畏死，何苦守尺寸地，食其所愛之肉，抗不降乎？且見援不至，人相食而猶守，雖其愚亦知必死矣，然遠之不畏死甚明。

If Yuan really was afraid of dying why did he defend every inch of ground, eat the flesh of his beloved and resist instead of surrendering? He defended himself knowing that no reinforcements were coming and that people were eating each other. Even if he was stupid he would still have known that he had to die. It thus becomes very clear that Yuan was not afraid to die. (p. 5542; date refers to time of discussion)

822 是時，南方旱歉，人相食，播耨斂不少衰，民皆怨之。

At the time harvests in the south were affected by droughts. People ate each other. Many succumbed to the taxes Bo exacted. The people thoroughly resented him. (p. 5116)

834 山東叛且三五世，後生所見言語舉太，無非叛也，以為事理正當如此，沈酣入骨髓，無以為非者，至有圍急食盡，啖屍以戰。

In Shandong there have been rebels around for four or five generations. What every generation hears is that there has never been anyone who has not rebelled They believe this is the normal way to act. With this deep intoxication running through their marrow, none of them believe they are doing anything wrong. By the time they are extremely beleaguered and their food supplies are depleted, they eat corpses to continue the battle. (p. 5096)

855 徐乏食，分兵攻潞、和、楚、壽，陷之，糧盡，啖人以飽。

There was not enough food in Xu so the troops were split to attack and beleague Chu, He, Chu and Shou. When food supplies were depleted there, humans were eaten to appease their hunger.

後賊乘間直襲湘壘，悉俘而食之，蚡湘及監軍郗厚本。

Later the rebels took advantage of this opportunity and made a frontal attack on Xiang's camp. Everyone was taken prisoner and eaten. Xiang and Xi Houben, the army supervisor, were pickled. (p. 5102)

856 大中十年三月，舒州吳塘堰有眾禽成巢，闊七尺，高一尺。水禽山鳥，無不馴狎。中有如人面、碳毛、紺爪觜者，其聲曰甘，人謂之甘蟲。占曰：有鳥非常，來宿于邑中，國有兵，人相食。

In the third month of the tenth year of the Dazhong reign a flock of birds built a seven feet wide and one foot high nest in the Wu pond in Shuzhou. The water birds as well as the mountain birds were all tame. Among them some had human-like faces, green feathers, purple claws and beaks and a call that sounded like 'gan'. People called them 'gan creatures'. The prognostication read: 'When extraordinary birds come to settle in the middle of cities there will be soldiers in the empire and people will eat each other.' (p. 891)

867 咸通中，吳、越有異鳥極大，四目三足，鳴山林。其聲曰羅平。占曰：國有兵，人相食。

In the middle of the Xiantong reign huge strange birds with four eyes and three feet could be heard in the wooded hills of Wu and Yue. Their call sounded like 'luoping'. The prognostication read: 'There will be soldiers in the empire and people will eat each other.' (p. 891)²⁰²

881 疫死者，爭啗其尸，縣首于戶以備饌。

The bodies of those who had died of disease were fought over and eaten. Their heads were hung in doorways awaiting preparation as food. (p. 5424)

882 於時畿民柵山谷自保，不得耕，米斗錢三十千，屑樹皮以食，有執柵民鬻賊以為糧，人獲數十萬錢。

Then people of the metropolitan area built huts in the mountains and valleys to defend themselves. They could not plow and one *dou* of rice cost 30,000 *qian* so they peeled the bark from trees to eat. Sometimes they were caught and sold to the rebels as food. One human fetched the price of several hundred thousand *qian*. (p. 6460)

884 四年，關內大饑，人相食。

In the fourth year there was a severe famine in Guannei. People ate each other. (p. 899)

²⁰² 'Luoping' is, according to Somers, 'The End of the Tang,' (p. 692, 788), the name of the holy bird of the lower Yangzi, a reign name adopted by the rebel Qiu Fu 裘甫 in 860 and the name of the first rebel state in late Tang.

884 中和四年，江南大旱，饑，人相食。

In the fourth year of the Zhonghe reign there was a severe drought in Jiangnan. People starved and ate each other. (p. 918)

886 光啟二年二月，荊、襄大饑，米斗三千錢，人相食。

In the second month of the second year of the Guangqi reign there was a severe famine in Jing and Xiang. One *dou* of rice cost 3,000 *qian*. People ate each other. (p. 899)

886 二年，荊、襄蝗，米斗錢三千，人相食：淮南蝗，自西來，行而不飛，浮水緣城入揚州府署，竹樹幢節，一夕如剪，幡幟畫像，皆齧去其首，撲不能太。

In the second year the Jing and Xiang areas were afflicted by locusts. One *dou* of rice cost 3,000 *qian*. People ate each other. The locusts in Huainan came from the west. Instead of flying they crawled and floated. They went over the walls of Yangzhou and into the magistrate's office. In one night they shredded the bamboo tallies and bit off the top of the banners and paintings. Swatting did not stop them. (p. 940)

891 人至相暴以相啖，敬瑄不能太，乃行斬、劈二法，亦不為戢。

People resorted to violence so that they could eat each other. Jingxuan could not curb it. And when the two punishments of beheading and cleaving were employed he did nothing to restrain their usage. (p. 6409)

901 昭宗在閬翔，為梁兵所圍，城中人相食，父食其子，而天子食粥，六宮及宗室多餓死。

When Emperor Zhaozong was beleaguered by the Liang troops in Fengxiang, people ate each other within the walls. Fathers ate their sons and the Son of Heaven ate gruel. Many members of the imperial harem and relatives of the emperor starved to death. (p. 1362)

906 全忠環滄築而溝之，內外援絕，人相食。

Quanzhong encircled Cang and cut it off completely with walls and moats. People ate each other. (p. 5987)

Jiu Wudaishi 舊五代史 (Xue Juzheng 薛居正)

884 是時，陳州四面，賊寨相望，驅擄編氓，殺以充食，號為「春磨寨」。

At this time, on all four sides of Chenzhou, the stockades of the rebels were within eyesight of one another. The common people were urged on, caught and killed to supplement rations. The strongholds were called the Pound and Grind Stockades. (p. 4)

886 時大亂之後，野無耕稼，罕之部下以俘剽為資，啖人作食。

After the great turmoil there were no crops left in the fields. Hanzhi's troops then used dismembered prisoners as an asset and ate people as food. (p. 207–08; slightly different version in *Xin Tangshu*, p. 5543)

887 行密攻圍彌急，城中食盡，米斗四十千，居人相啗略盡。

Xingmi beleaguered the city tightly. Within the walls food supplies were exhausted. One *dou* of rice cost 40,000 [*qian*]. The inhabitants ate each other almost to extinction. (p. 1780)

888 自是數州之民，屠啖殆盡，荊棘蔽野，煙火斷絕，凡十餘年。

In many prefectures after this people were slaughtered and eaten almost to extinction. For more than ten years weeds covered the fields and no smoke came from fire places. (p. 208)

889 一日，建陰令軍士於行府門外擒昭度親吏，鬻而食之，建徐啟昭度曰：蓋軍士乏食，以至於此耳！

One day, Jian secretly ordered his men to catch a few of Zhaodu's personal aides at the entrance to the garrison, chop them into pieces and eat them. Then Jian entered Zhaodu's camp and said: 'The soldiers are out of food. That is why it has come to this!' (p. 208; slightly different version in *Xin Wudaishi*, p. 785)

893 時歲饑，軍乏食，脯屍肉而食之。

This was a year of famine. The soldiers who lacked provisions minced and ate flesh from corpses. (p. 348)

906 仁恭閱眾，得二十萬，進至瓦橋，汴人深溝高壘以攻滄州，內外阻絕，仁恭不能合戰，城中大饑，人相篡啖，析骸而爨，丸土而食，轉死骨立者十之六七。

Rengong reviewed his troops, counted them as 200,000 and entered Waqiao. The Bians used high ramparts and deep trenches in their attack on Cangzhou. The city was completely cut off and Rengong was unable to join the battle. Within the walls there was nothing to eat. People caught and ate each other. Bones were split and burnt. Mud was rolled into balls and eaten. Six to seven out of ten turned over and died with only bones protruding from their corpses. (p. 1801-02)

944 同、華奏，人民相食。

Reports from Tong and Hua said that people ate each other. (p. 1089)

944 冬十一月，承勳與弟承信、承祚見城中人民相食將盡，知事不濟，勸光遠乞降，冀免於赤族。

In the winter, in the eleventh month, when Chengxun and his brothers Chengxin and Chengzu saw that people within the walls had eaten each other almost to extinction they became aware that it was a hopeless situation and urged Guangyuan to surrender thus hoping to avoid total extermination of their clan. (p. 1293)

948 及攻其城，王師傷者甚眾，乃以長塹圍之，經年糧盡，遂殺人充食。思綰嘗對眾取人膽以酒吞之，告眾曰：吞此至一千，即膽氣無敵矣。

Then the city was attacked. As the imperial forces had suffered heavy losses, they dug a trench around the city. As the year passed provisions were depleted. People were then killed and used as food. Siwan had earlier extracted a human gall in front of his men, swallowed it with wine and told them: 'One thousand of these and you will have the guts to face any enemy!' (p. 1442; slightly different version in *Xin Wudaishi*, p. 606)

Xin Wudaishi 新五代史 (Ouyang Xiu 歐陽修)

883 是時，城中倉廩空虛，飢民相殺而食，其夫婦、父子自相牽，就屠賣之，屠者割剔如羊、豕。

At this time the granaries within the walls were empty. The starving killed and ate each other. Husband and wives, fathers and sons led each other to be slaughtered and sold. The slaughtered were butchered like sheep and pigs. (p. 748)

888 罕之留其子頡事晉，乃之澤州，日以兵鈔懷、孟間，啖人為食。

Hanzhi let his son Qi stay for service in Jin and then left for Zezhou. In the daytime he used his forces and made raids into the area between the rivers Huai and Meng. As food he ate people. (p. 455)

892 殺民老疾以餉軍，驅其眾渡江，號五十萬，以攻行密。

He killed the old and sick to feed the soldiers. The he urged the 500,000 strong force across Jiang and attacked Xingmi. (p. 749)

901 米豆直錢七千，至燒人屎煮尸而食，父自食其子，人有爭其肉者，曰：此吾子也，汝安得而食之！人肉斤直錢百，狗肉斤直錢五百，父甘食其子，而人肉賤於狗。

Rice and beans were valued at 7,000 *qian*. People even cooked and ate human faeces and corpses. One father, who was going to eat his own son, said as people vied for the flesh: 'This is my son. Why should you get him to eat?' One *jin* of human flesh was valued at 100 *qian* and one *jin* of dog meat was valued at 500 *qian*. Fathers were willing to eat their own sons and human flesh was cheaper than dog meat. (p. 432)

906 滄州被圍百餘日，城中食盡，人自相食，析骸而爨，或丸墪土而食，死者十六七。

Cangzhou was beleaguered for more than 100 days. Within the walls there was nothing to eat. People ate each other. Bones were split and burnt. Some rolled mud into balls and ate them. Six to seven out of ten died. (p. 424)

908 守文將吏孫鶴、呂兗等，立守文子延祚以距守光，守光圍之百餘日，城中食盡，米斗直錢三萬，人相殺而食，或食墻土，馬相食其驥尾，兗等率城中饑民食以麴，號宰務，日殺以餉軍。
Shouwen's commanders Sun He and Lü Yan installed Shouwen's son Yanzuo to resist Shouguang. Shouguang beleaguered them for more than 100 days. Within the walls food supplies were exhausted, one *dou* of rice was valued at 30,000 *qian*. People killed and ate each other. Some ate mud. Horses ate each others' manes and tails. Using alcohol Yan and the others commanded the starving people within the city walls to eat. The daily killings to feed the soldiers was called 'slaughter service'. (pp. 424–25; slightly different version in *Jiu Wudaishi*, p. 1803)

944 契丹已北，出帝復遣守貞、符彥卿東討，光遠嬰城固守，自夏至東，城中人相食幾盡。
The Qidans stopped in the north, so Emperor Chu sent Shouzhen and Fu Yanqing on several campaigns to the east. Guangyuan closed the city and defended it fiercely. From summer to winter, people within the walls ate each other almost to extinction. (p. 589)

Songshi 宋史 (Tuotuo 脱脱)

熒惑犯之，民相食，國有敗兵。
When Mars nears it people will eat each other and there will be defeated soldiers in the kingdom. (p. 980)

熒惑犯之，有兵；留二十日，水災；留三月，客兵聚；入之，人相食，又云宮內亂。
When Mars nears it soldiers will appear. If it remains for 20 days there will be floods. If it remains three months mercenaries will gather. If it enters people will eat each other. It is also said that there will be disorder in the palace. (p. 1007)

太白犯之，外國人相食，兵起西北。
When Venus nears it people in the outer kingdoms will eat each other and soldiers will gather in the north-west. (p. 1035)

狼一星，在東井東南，為野將，主侵掠。色有常，不欲動也。芒角、動搖，則兵起；明盛，兵器貴；移位，人相食；色黃白，為凶；赤，為兵。
The Wolf, a solitary star, is found south-east of the Eastern Well. The Wolf is the star of the rebel commanders and controls their campaigns. When its colours are normal it does not wish to move. If horns of light begin to protrude and it shimmers, soldiers will gather; if brilliantly clear, weaponry will be dear; if it changes position, people will eat each other; if yellow or white, calamities will occur; if red, military activity is impending. (p. 1054)

募星守之，人相食。
When the *Tian* star approaches it people will eat each other. (p. 1057)

948 思綰糧盡，城中人相食，從義繫書矢上射入城中，說思綰令降，仍表於朝廷，許以華州節來。
Siwan's provisions were exhausted. Within the walls people ate each other. Congyi tied a message to an arrow and shot it over the walls. In the message he ordered Siwan to surrender but added that he was to appear in court to receive the military governorship of Huazhou. (p. 8850)

962 處耘釋所俘體肥者數十人，令左右分啗之，黥其少健者，令先入朗州。會暮，宿砦中，遲明，延釗大軍繼至。黥者先入城言，被擒者悉為大軍所啗，朗人大懼，縱火焚城而潰。
Chuyun released several tens of fat prisoners, and had his attendants eat them. The weaker among them were tattooed and ordered to enter Langzhou first. Shortly after when it grew dark, they camped in the fortress. At dawn the great army of Yanzhao arrived. The tattooed first entered the city and told them that the captured had all been eaten by the great army. The people of Lang panicked. Fire was spread, the city was burnt down and thus utterly defeated. (p. 8962)

1057 明年，河北大饑，人相食，鼎經營賑救，頗盡力。
The following year there was a severe famine in Hebei. People ate each other. Ding organized the relief, a very strenuous undertaking. (p. 9961)

1129 三年，山東郡國大饑，人相食。時金人陷京東諸郡，民聚為盜，至車載乾尸為糧。

In the third year there was a severe famine in the commanderies and kingdoms of Shandong. People ate each other. At the time the people of Jin had invaded all the commanderies of Jingdong. People united as bandits and carried off cartloads of dried corpses as food. (p. 1463)

1130 四年，盜祝友聚眾於滁州龔家城，掠人為糧。

In the fourth year when the bandit Zhu You grouped his followers in Gongjiacheng, Chuzhou, they caught and used humans as provisions. (p. 13482)

1131 五湖捕魚人夏寧聚眾千餘，掠人為食，郭仲威餘黨出沒淮南，邵青據通州，光世皆招降之。

Xia Ning, a fisherman of the five lakes, assembled more than 1,000 followers. They caught people and ate them as food. Guo Zhongwei and the rest of the bandits rose and fell in Huainan. Shao Qing lay hold of Tongzhou. Guangshi defeated them all. (p. 11482)

1208 嘉定元年，淮民大饑，食草木，流于江、浙者百萬人。先是淮郡罹兵，農久失業，米斗二千，殍死者十三四，炮人肉、馬矢食之。

In the first year of the Jiading reign there was a severe famine in Huai. People ate grass and wood and one million fled to the Jiang and Zhe regions. Prior to this the Huai commandery had suffered from the war. Farmers had not tilled their fields for a long time. One *dou* of rice cost 2,000 [*qian*]. Three to four out of ten starved to death. Human flesh and horse dung were roasted and eaten. (p. 1466)

1209 淮民剗道殮食盡，發瘞骸繼之，人相搯噬：流於揚州者數千家度江者聚建康，殍死日八九十人。

The people in Huai carved and ate the flesh of all the dead along the roads. Then graves were robbed of their rotting corpses and people began to catch and bite each other. Thousands of families fled to Yangzhou, passed Jiang and gathered in Jiankang. Eighty to ninety persons starved to death every day. (p. 1467)

1210 三年春，建康府大饑，人相食。

In the spring of the third year there was a severe famine in the Jiankang prefecture. People ate each other. (p. 1467)

1223 歲大饑，人相食，留守別之傑諱不詰，鹿卿命掩捕食人者，尸諸市。

This was a year of severe famine. People ate each other. The deputy Bie Zhijie wanted to conceal it without an investigation but Luqing had those who had eaten humans arrested and the corpses collected at the market place. (p. 12650)

1272 八年冬，襄陽饑，人相食。

In the winter of the eighth year there was a famine in Xiangyang. People ate each other. (p. 1467)

1276 三月，揚州穀價騰踊，民相食。

In the third month grain prices soared in Yangzhou. People ate each other. (p. 1467)

1276 明年二月，饑益甚，赴濠水死者日數百，道有死者，眾爭割啖之立盡。

In the second month of the following year, the famine got even more severe. Every day those who drowned themselves in the ditches could be counted in their hundreds. When someone died on the road, he was immediately cut up and eaten by struggling crowds. (p. 12602)

1276 兵者有烹子而食者，猶日出苦戰。

Among the soldiers there were those who boiled and ate children, and, during the day, still fought bitter battles. (p. 12602)

1277 十一月，瀘州食盡，人相食，遂破之，安撫王世昌自經死。

In the eleventh month food supplies were exhausted in Lüzhou. People ate each other. Then the city fell and the defeated Wang Shichang hanged himself. (p. 13283)

Liaoshi 諜史 (Tuotuo 脱脱)

1118 東路諸州盜賊蜂起，掠民自隨以充食。

In all prefectures of the eastern route rebels swarmed. People were caught and later on eaten to supplement the rations. (p. 336)

1118 時山前諸路大饑，乾、顯、宜、錦、興中等路，斗粟直數緡，民削榆皮食之，既而人相食。

In all regions in front of the Shan mountains there was a severe famine. In the Gan, Xian, Yi, Jin and Xingzhong regions a *dou* of grain was worth several bolts of the finest silk. People peeled off and ate bark from elm trees. Then they ate each other. (p. 338)

Jinshi 金史 (Tuotuo 脱脱)

1125 歲大饑，盜賊掠人為食。

This was a year of severe famine. Rebels caught people and used them as food. (p. 2762)

1127 敵圍之數重，守者糧餽俱盡，牛馬相食其驥尾，人易子而食。

The enemy beleaguered them tightly. When the defenders ran out of food and fodder, cattle and horses ate each others' manes and tails. People exchanged children and ate them. (p. 1799).

1216 是春，河朔人相食。

This spring people ate each other in Heshuo. (p. 542)

1216 四年，河北行省侯摯言：河北人相食，觀滄等州斗米銀十餘兩。

In the fourth year the Hebei overseer Hou Zhi said: 'People in Hebei are eating each other. In the Guan and Cang prefectures one *dou* of rice costs more than ten *liang* of silver.' (p. 1119)

1216 是時，河北大飢，摯上言曰：今河朔饑甚，人至相食，觀、滄等州斗米銀十餘兩，殍殮相屬。

At this time there was a severe famine in Hebei. Zhi's petition read: 'There is a severe famine in Heshuo. People are eating each other. In the Guan and Cang prefectures one *dou* of rice costs more than ten *liang* of silver. Those who have starved to death are piled up in heaps.' (p. 2386)

1232 壬子，京城人相食。

On the *renzi* day people ate each other in the capital. (p. 394)

1232 都尉高祿謙、苗用秀輩仍掠人食之，而白撒誅斬在口，所過官吏殘虐不勝，一飯之費有數十金不能給者，公私皇皇，日皆俟大兵至矣。

The two commander-in-chiefs Gao Luqian and Miao Yongxiu and their gang caught people and ate them. Baisa killed people in their homes. All officials who passed by were cruel beyond description. No one could pay the several tens of *jin* demanded for a meal. High and low were equally worried and in the daytime they just waited for the imperial forces to arrive. (p. 2492)

1233 城中糧盡，人相食，黑漢殺其愛妾啖士，士爭殺其妻子。

Within the walls provisions were exhausted. People ate each other. Heihan killed his favourite concubine and fed her to his officers. Officers then vied with each other to kill their own wives and children. (p. 2686)

1233 乙酉，大元召宋兵攻唐州，元帥右監軍烏古論黑漢死于戰，主帥蒲墓某為部曲兵所食。城破，宋人求食人者盡戮之，餘無所犯。

On the *yiyu* day the Great Yuan empire summoned the Song soldiers for an attack on Tangzhou. Marshal and Army Supervisor to the Right Wugulun Heihan died in the battle. Commander-in-chief Pu Chamou was eaten by irregular forces. When the city fell, and the Song people had asked for the man-eaters and killed them all, there were no more criminals. (p. 400)

Yuanshi 元史 (Song Lian 宋濂)

諸支解人，煮以為食者，以不道論，雖瘐死，仍徵燒埋銀給苦主。

Dismembering a man and cooking for food was to be pronounced a crime against nature, even if perpetrated from starvation. In either case, money to defray the cremation or the burial of the victim had to be exacted (from the perpetrator), and to be given to the injured party. (p. 2653; in de Groot's translation)

1214 是時兵亂，民廢農耕，所在人相食，寧晉東有藪澤，周回百餘里，中有小堡曰瀝城，義曰：瀝城雖小而完，且有魚藕菱芡之利，不可失也。

At this time there was military turmoil. People lost their livelihood. Everywhere people ate each other. East of Ningjin there were marshlands of more than 100 *li* in circumference with a fortified village called Licheng in the middle. Yi said: 'Although small, Licheng is still intact and has fish, lotus roots, water chestnuts and Gorgon [fruits]. We cannot afford to lose it.' (pp. 3565–66)²⁰³

1215 時城中絕粒，人相食，乃許軍士給糧，入城轉糶，故士得金帛，而民獲粒食。

Within the city walls grain supplies were exhausted. People ate each other. The soldiers were, therefore, permitted to hand out food but after entering the city they sold it instead. The officers received gold and silk and the people food to eat. (p. 3611)

1216 丙子，真定饑，群盜據城叛，民皆穴地以避之，盜發地而噉其人，順擒數百人殺之。

In the *bingzi* year, there was a famine in Zhending. A group of bandits occupied the city and rebelled. People dug tunnels to evade them but the bandits went after them and ate them up. Shun caught several hundred and killed them. (p. 3570)

1229 時汴梁受兵日久，歲饑人相食，速不台下令縱其民北渡以就食。

Bianliang had for a long time suffered from the war. Harvests failed and people ate each other. Su Butai issued an order that his people be allowed to cross the north border in search of food. (p. 2977)

1302 深既不能來亂，反為亂眾所來，軍中乏糧，人自相食，計窮勢蹙，倉黃退走，士兵隨擊，以致大敗。

While Shen lost control of his forces, deserters joined the rebelling masses. The army lacked provisions and ate each other. Their plans and resources were exhausted. After a hasty retreat they were followed and utterly destroyed by the enemy forces. (p. 3948)

1325-1328 陝西自泰定二年至是歲不雨，大饑，民相食。

From the second year of the Taiding reign to this year rain did not fall in Shaanxi. There was a severe famine. People ate each other. (p. 723–24)

1328 天曆元年八月，陝西大旱，人相食。

In the eighth month of the first year of the Tianli reign there was a severe drought in Shaanxi. People ate each other. (p. 1071)

1329 河南廉訪司言：「河南府路以兵、旱民饑，食人肉事覺者五十一人，餓死者千九百五十人，饑者二萬七千四百餘人。」

The surveillance commissioner of Henan said: 'In the regions of Henan, because of the starvation caused by unrest and droughts, 51 cases of people eating human flesh have been discovered. One thousand nine hundred and fifty people have starved to death and more than 27,400 are starving right now.' (p. 733)

1329 肫因奉元亢旱，五載失稔，人皆相食，流移疫死者十七八。

Not long ago there was a severe drought in Fengyuan. Five harvests were lost. People ate each other. Seven to eight out of ten fled or died. (p. 1631)

²⁰³ According to Read the plants should be identified as follows: *Ou* – *Nelumbo nucifera*, *Ling* – *Trapa natans*, *Qian* – *Euryale ferox*.

1329 京兆民掠人而食之，則命分健卒為隊，捕強食人者，其患乃已。

People of Jingzhao caught and ate people so he ordered able-bodied soldiers to form units and arrest the man-eaters. Thus this plight came to an end. (p. 3352)

1329 天曆二年，關中大旱，饑民相食，特拜陝西行臺中丞。

In the second year of the Tianli reign, when there was a severe drought in Guanzhong which caused the starving to eat each other, he was specially appointed governor of Shaanxi's mobile administration. (p. 4092)

1342 是月，大同饑，人相食，運京師糧賑之。

This month there was a famine in Datong. People ate each other. To help them food was transported from the capital. (p. 863)

1342 至正二年，彰德、大同二郡及冀寧平晉、榆次、徐溝縣，汾州孝義縣，忻州皆大旱，自春至皇不雨，人有相食者。

In the second year of the Zhizheng reign there was a severe drought in the two commanderies of Zhangde and Datong, in the Pingjin, Yuci and Xugou counties of Jining, in the Xiaoyi county of Fenzhou and in Xinzhou. From spring to autumn rain did not fall. Some people ate each other. (p. 1106)

1343 三年，衛輝、冀寧、忻州大饑，人相食。

In the third year there was a severe famine in Weihui, Jining and Xinzhou. People ate each other. (p. 1110)

1344 濟寧路兗州，汴梁鄆陵、通許、陳留、臨潁等縣大水害稼，人相食。

In Yanzhou, Jininglu, and in the Yanling, Tongxu, Chenliu and Linying prefectures of Bianliang floods damaged crops. People ate each other. (p. 1095)

1344 丁卯，山東霖雨，民饑相食，賑之。

On the *dingmao* day torrential rain fell in Shandong. People starved and ate each other. Relief was provided. (p. 870)

1344 八月，益都霖雨，饑民有相食者。

In the eighth month torrential rain fell in Yidu. Among the starving people there were those who ate each other. (p. 1104)

1344 四年，霸州大饑，人相食。

In the fourth year there was a severe famine in Bazhou. People ate each other. (p. 1110)

1345 五年春，東平路須城、東阿、陽穀三縣及徐州大饑，人相食。

In the spring of the fifth year there was a severe famine in Xuzhou and in three counties of Dongpinglu; Xucheng, Dongge and Yanggu. People ate each other. (p. 1110)

1347 彰德路大饑，民相食。

There was a severe famine in Zhangdelu. People ate each other. (p. 878)

1348 歲大饑，人相食，死者過半，秉直出俸米，倡富民分粟，餒者食之，病者與藥，死者與棺以葬。

This was a year of severe famine. People ate each other. More than half the population died. Bingzhi gave away his own allotted rice and thus initiated the distribution of the grain of the wealthy. He fed the starving, gave medicine to the sick and coffins for burial to the dead. (p. 4374)

1349 九年春，膠州大饑，人相食。

In the ninth year there was a severe famine in Jiaozhou. People ate each other. (p. 1110)

1352 十二年，蘄州、黃州大旱，人相食。

In the twelfth year there was a severe drought in Qizhou and Huangzhou. People ate each other. (p. 1107)

1353 明年，春夏大饑，人相食，乃捐俸為粥以食之，得活者甚眾。

In the following year there was a severe famine during the spring and summer. When people ate each other he gave away the allotted rice as gruel to feed them. Many thus survived. (p. 3427)

1353 賊稍引去，乃出，抵楊村橋，賊奄至，殺廉訪副使不達失里，啖其屍。

When the bandits withdrew a little, he set out for a new stand at the Yangcun bridge. Before long the bandits arrived, and killed and ate the body of Vice Surveillance Commissioner Buda Shili. (p. 4395)

1354 京師大饑，加以疫癘，民有父子相食者。

There was a severe famine in the capital as well as epidemic disease. Among the people there were fathers and sons who ate each other. (p. 918)

1354 祥符旱魃再見，泉州種不入土，人相食。

In Xiangfu the drought demon was visible again. In Quanzhou seeds did not take root. People ate each other. (p. 1107)

1354 十四年春，浙東台州，江東饒，閩海福州、邵武、汀州，江西龍興、建昌、吉安、臨江，廣西靜江等郡皆大饑，人相食。

In the spring of the 14th year there was severe famines in Taizhou, Zhedong; in Rao, Jiangdong; in Fuzhou, Shaowu and Dingzhou, Minhai; in Longxing, Jianchang, Ji'an and Linjiang, Jiangxi; and in Jingjiang, Guangxi. People ate each other. (p. 1110)

1356 城中餓者仆道上，即取啖之，一切草木、螺蛤、魚蛙、燕鳥，及靴皮、鞍轡、革箱、敗弓之筋皆盡，而後父子夫婦老稚更相食，撤屋為薪，人多露處，坊陌生荊棘。

Within the walls those who had collapsed in the streets were immediately carried away and eaten. Everything, from grass and trees, snails and shells, fish and frogs, swallows and crows to leather boots, saddles, leather boxes, and the string of broken bows was eaten all up. Afterwards fathers and sons, husbands and wives, old and young ate each other. Houses were torn down for firewood, people were left without roofs over their heads, and roads lay deserted. (p. 4396. *Chan* 轡 should have *ge* 革 to the left instead of *jin* 巾)

1358 先是，樞密院判官劉起祖守順德，糴絕，劫民財，掠牛馬，民強壯者令充軍，弱者殺而食之。

Before this, Shunde had been defended by Liu Qizu, an administrative assistant of the Bureau of Military Affairs. When he ran out of food, he robbed the people of their valuables, cattle and horses. The strong were ordered to enlist as soldiers and the weak were killed and eaten. (p. 945)

1358 莒州家人自相食，岐山人相食。

In Juzhou family members ate each other. In Qishan people ate others. (p. 1107)

1358 順德九縣民食蝗，廣平人相食。

The inhabitants of nine counties in Shunde ate locusts. People of Guangping ate each other. (p. 1108)

1358 冬，京師大饑，人相食，彰德、山東亦如之。

In the winter there was a severe famine in the capital. People ate each other. Conditions were the same in Zhangde and Shandong. (p. 1110)

1359 饑民捕蝗以為食，或曝乾而積之。又罄，則人相食。

Starving people caught locusts to eat. Some sun-dried and stored them. When supplies were exhausted people ate each other. (p. 1108)

1359 十九年正月至五月，京師大饑，銀一錠得米僅八斗，死者無算。通州民劉五殺其子而食之。

保定路草死盈道，軍士掠孱弱以為食。濟南及益都之高苑，莒之蒙陰，河南之孟津、新安、黽池等縣皆大饑，人相食。

From the first to the fifth month of the 19th year, there was a severe famine in the capital. One *ding* of silver could only buy eight *dou* of rice. The dead were innumerable. Villager Liuwu of Tongzhou killed and ate his own son. In Baodinglu those who had starved to death filled the roads. Soldiers caught the weak and ate them. In Jinan and Gaoyuan, Yidu, in Mengyin, Ju and in Mengjin, Xin'an and Minchi, Henan, there was a severe famine. People ate each other. (p. 1110)

1360 時京師大饑，天壽節，廟堂欲用故事大饗會，好禮言：「今民父子有相食者，君臣當修省，以弭大患，饗會宜愼常度。」

At the time there was a severe famine in the capital. When the temples were about to use the approaching *Tianshou* festival as a reason to stage grand parties, Haoli said: 'Among fathers and sons there are those who eat each other. When you, venerable gentlemen, next search your consciences, do so to get rid of the calamities afflicting us. Let's cut down on the celebrations this time.' (p. 4436)

1362 二十二年，河南洛陽、孟津、偃師三縣大旱，人相食。

In the 22nd year there was a severe drought in three counties of Henan: Luoyang, Mengjin and Yanshi. People ate each other. (p. 1107)

Mingshi 明史 (Zhang Tingyu 張廷玉)

1359 諸將在外者率不遵約束，所過焚劫，至啖老弱為糧，且皆福通故等夷，福通亦不能來。

The campaigning generals could not restrain their troops. Wherever they went they burnt and looted, and even ate the old and weak as food. They were all old barbarians of Futong's, but not even he could control them. (p. 3683)

1457 天順元年，北畿、山東并饑，發塋墓，斫道樹殆盡。父子或相食。

In the first year of the Tianshun reign there was a famine in both the northern metropolitan area and in Shandong. Graves were robbed. Almost all the trees along the roads were cut down. Some fathers and sons ate each other. (p. 508)

1457 家室不相完，轉死溝壑，未及埋瘞，已成市饈，此可為痛哭者也。

Families and clans are disintegrating, people are turning over and dying in the gutters and ditches. Before they reach their graves they have already become minced meat in the market. This is something to cry bitterly about. (p. 4459)

1480 山西大饑，人相食，命往振，活三十餘萬人，還流冗十四萬戶。

There was a severe famine in Shanxi. People ate each other. The relief that was ordered to the area kept more than 300,000 people alive and made 140,000 vagrant families return. (p. 4853)

1484 是皇，陝西、山西大旱饑，人相食。

This autumn there was starvation caused by severe drought in Shaanxi and Shanxi. People ate each other. (p. 178)

1484 已，上言：臣鄉歲災傷，人相食，由長吏貪殘，賦役失均。

Subsequently he petitioned the throne: 'For many years disaster has struck my area. People eat each other. This is caused by an unfair system of taxes and service levies created by greedy and cruel senior officials.' (p. 4461)

1485 山、陝、河、洛饑民多流邸、裏，至骨肉相噉，請大發帑庾振濟，消弭他變。

Many of the starving in Shan, Shaan, He and Luo flee to Yun and Xiang. Even relatives eat each other. I beg you to open the treasury and the granaries on a grand scale to avoid further upheavals. (p. 4782)

1487 武功民有殺食宿客者。

Some villagers of Wugong killed and ate lodgers. (p. 509)

1504 十七年，淮、揚、廬、閩海饑，人相食，且發瘞腐以繼之。

In the 17th year there were successive famines in Huai, Yang, Lu and Feng. People ate each other and robbed graves of their rotting corpses. (p. 509)

1519 是歲，淮、揚饑，人相食。

This year there was famine in Huai and Yang. People ate each other. (p. 211)

1519 今江、淮大饑，父子兄弟相食。

Now there is a severe famine in Jiang and Huai. Fathers and sons, older and younger brothers eat each other. (p. 5017)

1519 江、淮母子相食，兗、豫盜賊懈行，川、陝、湖、貴疲於供餉。

In Jiang and Huai mothers and children ate each other. Yan and Yu were plagued by bandits. Chuan, Shaan, Hu and Gui were exhausted by food contributions. (p. 5497)

1522 歲饑，人相食，奏請發帑，不許。

This was a year of famine. People ate each other. In a memorial he asked that the treasury be opened. This was not done. (p. 5319)

1524 南畿諸郡大饑，父子相食，道殣相望，臭彌千里。

Throughout all commanderies of the southern metropolitan area there were severe famines. Fathers and sons ate each other. Those who had starved to death along the roads lay within eyesight of one another. The stench spread out 1,000 *li*. (p. 510)

1524 自去年六月迄今二月，其間天鳴者三，地震者三十八，皇冬雷電雨雹十八，暴風、白氣、地裂、山崩、產妖各一，民饑相食。

From the sixth month of last year until now, the second month, there have been three celestial calls, thirty-eight earthquakes, instances of bad weather with thunder, lightning, rain and have occurred eighteen times during the autumn and winter, one case each of violent winds, white mists, terrestrial cracks, avalanches and abnormal births and two cases of people eating each other of starvation occurring. (p. 5062)

1524 今東南存饑，民至骨肉相食，而搜括之令頻行，臣等竊以為不可。

Today people are eating each others' flesh and bones in the south-east because of the successive famines. Still the expropriation order is about to be executed. Others besides myself are of the humble opinion that this is not proper. (p. 5094)

1524 明年進侍讀，復疏言：一二年間，天變地震，山崩川湧，人饑相食，殆無虛月。

The next year when he became an imperial tutor he wrote another memorial to the throne saying: 'During the last one or two years hardly a month has passed without celestial aberrations and terrestrial tremours, mountains collapsing and rivers flooding and people eating each other of starvation.' (p. 7267)

1552 三十一年，宣、大二鎮大饑，人相食。

In the 31st year there was a severe famine in the two defence command regions Xuan and Da. People ate each other. (p. 510)

1557 三十六年，諜東大饑，人相食。

In the 36th year there was a severe famine in Liaodong. People ate each other. (p. 510)

1588 十六年，河南饑，民相食。

In the 16th year there was a famine in Henan. People ate each other (p. 510-11)

1591 河南大饑，人相食，請發銀米各數十萬。

There was a severe famine in Henan. People ate each other. He asked that 100,000 [*liang*] worth of both silver and rice should be distributed. (p. 5659)

1594 二十二年，河南大饑，人相食，命化民兼河南道御史往振。

In the 22nd year there was a severe famine in Henan. People ate each other. Huamin and the censor of the Henan circuit were ordered to forward relief. (p. 5971)

1594 歲大饑，人相食。

This was a year of severe famine. People ate each other. (p. 6073)

1595 阜平縣饑，有食其稚子者。蘇州饑，民毆殺稅使七人。

In the Fuping county there was famine. Some ate their children. In Suzhou there was famine. People killed seven tax collectors. (p. 511)

1600 合攻上黃堡，誘敗參將黃冲霄，追至永從縣，殺守備張世忠炙而噉之，掠屯堡七十餘，焚五開南城，陷永從，圍中潮所。

They made a joint attack on the Shanghuang fortress, entrapped and defeated Assistant Regional Commander Huang Chongxiao, continued to the Yongcong district where they killed, roasted and ate Grand Commandant Zhang Shizhong, raided more than 70 camps, burned the southern wall of Wukai down, attacked Yongcong and surrounded the Chongchao office. (p. 6407)

1611 民間賣女鬻兒，食妻啖子，鋌而走險，急何能擇。

People are selling their daughters and sons, and eating their wives and children. When driven towards dangers, what choices do they have? (p. 6024)

1614 且山東大侵，人相食，黃河水稽天，兼以太白經天，輔星湛沒，熒惑襲月，金水愆行，或日光無芒，日月同暈，為恆風，為枯旱。

Shandong has also been afflicted by severe calamities such as people eating each other, the waters of the Huanghe rising to the heavens, Venus crossing the sky, the *Fu* star disappearing, Mars infringing on the moon, Venus and Mercury leaving their normal paths, the sun shining without rays and the sun and the moon having the same halo. These have caused the prevailing winds and droughts. (p. 6629)

1615 四十四年，山東饑甚，人相食。

In the 44th year there was a severe famine in Shandong. People ate each other. (p. 511)

1622 食糠覈草木敗革皆盡，食死人肉，後乃生食人，至親屬相噉。彥芳、運清部卒公屠人市肆，斤易銀一兩。

When all the chaffs, kernels, grass, wood and wasted leather were eaten up, they ate the flesh of the dead. Later on, people were eaten alive. In the end, relatives ate each other. The troops of Yanfang and Yunqing openly butchered and sold people in a market where one *jin* of flesh could be exchanged for one *liang* of silver. (p. 6452)

1622 外援既絕，攻益急，城中糧盡，人相食，而拒守不遺餘力。

When reinforcements were cut off, the attack intensified. Although food supplies within the walls were exhausted and people ate each other, the beleaguered did not spare any effort in their defence. (p. 8173)

1630 大凌糧盡食人馬。

At Daling food supplies were exhausted. People and horses were eaten. (p. 6771)

1633 歲旱饑，人相食。

It was a year of drought and starvation. People ate each other. (p. 7471)

1634 太原大饑，人相食。

There was a severe famine in Taiyuan. People ate each other. (p. 511)

1634 七年，西北大旱，秦、晉人相食，疏請發粟以振，而言：山西總兵張應昌等半殺難民以冒功，中州諸郡畏曹變蛟兵甚於賊。

In the seventh year there was a severe drought in the Northwest. The people of Qin and Jin ate each other. In a memorial to the throne he asked that relief grain be distributed saying: 'To aggrandize their achievements, half the people who are killed by the regional commander of Shanxi, Zhang Yingchang, and his like are refugees. In all the commanderies of Zhongzhou, Cao Bianwen's soldiers are more feared than bandits.' (p. 6862)

1636 山西大饑，人相食。

There was a severe famine in Shanxi. People ate each other. (p. 319)

1636 九年，南陽大饑，有母烹其女者。

In the ninth year there was a severe famine in Nanyang. Some mothers boiled their daughters. (p. 511)

1637 十年浙江大饑，父子、兄弟、夫妻相食。

In the tenth year there was a severe famine in Zhejiang. Fathers and sons, older and younger brothers and husbands and wives ate each other. (p. 511)

1639 河南大饑，人相食，廬氏、嵩、伊陽三縣尤甚。

There was a famine in Henan. People ate each other. In the three counties of Lushi, Song and Yiyang conditions were especially critical. (p. 511)

1639 關河大旱，人相食，士寇蜂起。

There was a severe drought in Guanhe. People ate each other. Soldiers and bandits swarmed. (p. 6517)

1640 是年，兩畿、山東、河南、山、陝旱蝗，人相食。

This year there were droughts and locusts in both the metropolitan areas, and in Shandong, Henan, Shan and Shaan. People ate each other. (p. 328)

1640 秦中流賊起，河南大旱蝗，人相食，民間藉藉，謂先帝耗天下以肥王，洛陽富於大內。

In Qinzong bandits roamed freely. In Henan there were severe droughts and locusts. People ate each other. Among the people there was dissension. They said that the former emperor emptied the world to fatten his kings and that the palaces of Luoyang were filled with riches. (p. 3650)

1640 自淮而北至畿南，樹皮食盡，發瘞腐以食。

From Huai in the south to the southern metropolitan area in the north all tree bark was eaten up. Rotting corpses were stolen from graves and eaten. (p. 511)

1641 德州斗米千錢，父子相食，行人斷絕，大盜滋矣。

In Dezhou one *dou* of rice cost 1,000 *qian*. Fathers and sons ate each other. Travellers stopped coming and banditry was rampant. (p. 511-12)

1641 明日，營中馬騾盡，殺賊取其屍分噉之。

The next day, when the horses and mules in the camp were all gone, they killed rebels, took their corpses, divided them and ate them up. (p. 6780)

1641 解官歸，歲大歉，人相食，傾囊濟之。

He resigned from office and returned home. There had been crop failure and people were eating each other. He used all his assets to help them. (p. 7504)

Qingshi gao 清史稿 (Zhao Erxuan 趙爾巽)

1630 頃大凌河之役，城中人相食，明人猶死守，及援盡城降，而錦州、松、杏猶不下，豈非其人讀書明理盡忠其主乎？

At the recent battle of Dalinghe people ate each other within the walls. Still the Mings defended themselves to their deaths. When there were no more reinforcements coming and the city fell Jinzhou, Song and Xing still would not surrender. Was it not because they had studied and understood principles that they became so utterly loyal to their master? (p. 37)

1630 旋有王世龍者，越城出降，言城中糧竭，商賈諸雜役多死，存者人相食，馬斃殆盡。

Then a certain Wang Shilong got over the wall, surrendered and said that inside the city food supplies were used up, that many of the merchants and the various corvée labourers were either dead or eating each other and that the horses were almost all dead. (p. 9422)

1633 先是，墓哈爾林丹西奔圖白特，其部眾苦林丹暴虐，逗遛者什七八，食盡，殺人相食，屠劫不已，潰散四出。

Before this the Chahar [khan] Lindan fled westwards to Tubaite. Because they had suffered from Lindan's violent cruelties, seven to eight out of ten of his troops stayed. However, food supplies were exhausted so they killed and ate people. After continuous killings and lootings the troops dispersed in all directions. (p. 46)

1640 而河南夫年大旱蝗，人相食，民益蜂起為盜。

But after years of droughts and locusts in Henan, people ate each other and turned to banditry in great swarms. (p. 13818)

1645 二年，棗陽、襄陽、光化、宜城大饑，人相食。

In the second year there was a severe famine in Zaoyang, Xiangyang, Guanghua and Yicheng. People ate each other. (p. 1648)

1648 五年春，廣州、鶴慶、嵩明大饑，人相食。

In the spring of the fifth year there was a severe famine in Guangzhou, Heqing and Songming. People ate each other. (p. 1648)

1654 順治十一年，明將李定國攻新會，城守閱八月，食盡，殺人馬為食。

In the eleventh year of the Shunzhi reign, the Ming general, Li Dingguo attacked Xinhui. The city was defended over a period of eight months. Food supplies were exhausted, people and horses were killed and eaten. (p. 14115)

1681 訶知糧將罄，人相食，與諸將環而攻之。

When he had informed them about the exhausted food supplies and that people were eating each other he joined the other generals in the encirclement and attacked. (p. 9744)

1698 三十七年春，平定、樂平大饑，人相食。

In the spring of the 37th year there was a severe famine in Pingding and Leping. People ate each other. (p. 1649)

1703 冬，汶上、沂州、莒州、兗州、東昌、鄆城大饑，人相食。

In the winter there was a severe famine in Wenshang, Yizhou, Juzhou, Yanzhou, Dongchang and Yuncheng. People ate each other. (p. 1650)

1704 四十三年春，泰安大饑，人相食，死者枕藉；肥城、東平大饑，人相食；武定、濱州、商河、陽信、利津、霑化饑；兗州、登州大饑，民死大半，至食屋草；昌邑、即墨、掖縣、高密、膠州大饑，人相食。

In the spring of the 43rd year, there was a severe famine in Taian. People ate each other. The dead lay on top of each other. In Feicheng and Dongping, there was a severe famine. People ate each other. In Wuding, Binzhou, Shanghe, Yangxin, Lijin and Zhanhua, there were famines. In Yanzhou and Dengzhou, there was a severe famine and more than half the population died. Even thatch was eaten. In Changyi, Jimo, Yexian, Gaomi and Yaozhou, there was a severe famine. People ate each other. (p. 1650)

1785 皇，壽光、昌樂、安丘、諸城大饑，父子相食。

In the autumn there was a severe famine in Shouguang, Changle, Anqiu and Zhucheng. Fathers and sons ate each other. (p. 1652)

1786 五十一年春，山東各府、州、縣大饑，人相食。

In the spring of the 51st year there was a severe famine in every prefecture, department and district of Shandong. People ate each other. (p. 1652)

1832 夏，紫陽大饑，人相食。

In the summer there was a severe famine in Ziyang. People ate each other. (p. 1653)

1833 夏，保康、鄖縣、房縣饑，人相食。

In the summer there was a famine in Baokang, Yunxian and Fangxian. People ate each other. (p. 653)

1834 十四年春，歸州、興山大饑，人相食。

In the spring of the 14th year there was a severe famine in Guizhou and Xingshan. People ate each other. (p. 1653)

1847 二十七年，南樂饑，人相食。

In the 27th year there was a famine in Nanle. People ate each other. (p. 1654)

1857 七年春，肥城、東平大饑，死者枕藉；魚台、日照、臨朐亦饑，人相食。

In the spring of the seventh year there was a severe famine in Feicheng and Dongping. The dead lay on top of each other. In Yutai, Rizhao and Linqu there was also a famine. People ate each other. (p. 1654)

1862 僧格林沁入城，見家食人肉，南華竟體創痕，深歎異之。

When Sengge Linqin entered the city and saw people eating human flesh and the scars all over Nanhua's body he sighed deeply finding him an extraordinary man. (pp. 12667-68)

1866 五年，蘭州饑，人相食。

In the fifth year there was a famine in Lanzhou. People ate each other. (p. 1654)

1867 明年，署陝甘總督，值歲大饑，人相食。

The following year he was assigned governor-general of Shaan-Gan. The year he took duty there was a severe famine. People ate each other. (p. 12623)

1868 夏，涇州大饑，人相食。

In the summer there was a severe famine in Jingzhou. People ate each other. (p. 1654)

1876 時慶陽大飢，人相食。

At this time there was a severe famine in Qingyang. People ate each other. (p. 12617)

1877 是歲，山、陝大旱，人相食。

This year there was a severe drought in Shan and Shaan. People ate each other. (p. 861)

1900 二十六年，兩宮西狩，關中大饑，人相食。

In the 26th year the two imperial households went on a west-ward tour of inspection. There was a severe famine in Guanzhong. People ate each other. (p. 12584)

1910 是月，江、淮饑，人相食。

This month there was a famine between the Jiang and Huai rivers. People ate each other. (p. 988)

b. Vengeance-related accounts

Hanshu 漢書

23 傳莽首詣更始縣宛市，百姓共提擊之，或切食其舌。

Mang's head was sent to Gengshi and hung up in the marketplace at Yuan. The common people threw things at it and hit it. Some cut out and ate his tongue. (p. 4192)

Jinshu 晉書

317 訪欲生致武昌，而朱軌息昌、趙誘息胤皆乞曾以復冤，於是斬曾，而昌、胤齧其肉而噉之。

Fang wanted to deliver him alive to Wuchang. But Zhu Gui's son Chang and Zhao You's son Yin begged him to exact revenge on Zeng. Then Zeng was beheaded and his flesh cut to pieces and eaten by Chang and Yin. (p. 2620)

319 石季龍攻陷徐龕，送之襄國，勒囊盛於百尺樓自上暴殺之，令步都等妻子剖而食之，坑龕降卒三千。

Shi Jilong captured Xu Kan and sent him to Xiangguo where Le had him bagged and killed by throwing him from a 100 feet tall tower. The wives and children of Budu and the others were ordered to cut

him to pieces and eat him up. The 3,000 surrendered soldiers of Kan's were killed. (p. 2739; 暴 should have a *shou* 手 radical to the left and be pronounced *bo*.)

337 又內諸夫丘尼有姿色者，與其交褻而殺之，合牛羊肉煮而食之，亦賜左右，欲以識其味也。
All those who were beautiful of the Buddhist nuns within the palace were violated and killed. Their flesh was cooked and eaten together with beef and mutton. It was also given to the attendants with the purpose of making them remember the taste. (p. 2766)

396 後劉裕左里捷，生擒猛，送琰小子混，混剖肝生食之。
Afterwards, on Liu Yu's victory at Zuoli, Meng was captured alive and given to Yan's youngest son Hun, who carved out his liver and ate it raw. (p. 2079)

Nan Qishu 南齊書

500 虜追軍獲瑤起，王肅募人鬻食其肉。
The Huns followed the army and captured Yaoqi. Wang Su called on his men to cut his flesh to pieces and eat it. (p. 998)²⁰⁴

Liangshu 梁書

552 至壺豆洲，前太子舍人羊鯤殺之，送屍于王僧辯。傳首西臺。曝屍於建康市，百姓爭取屠膾噉食，焚骨揚灰。曾罹其禍者，乃以灰和酒飲之。及景首至江陵，世祖命梟之於市，然後煮而漆之，付武庫。

On arrival at Hudouzhou, Yang Kun, the attendant of the first prince, killed him and sent his corpse to Wang Sengbian. The head was sent to the Secretariat. When his corpse was exposed in the marketplace of Jiankang the common people fought to eat the butchered body, burnt the bones and scattered the ashes. Those who had suffered from his evils mixed his ashes with wine and drank them. And when Jing's head reached Jiangling, Emperor Shizu ordered its exposure in the marketplace. Later it was boiled and lacquered and handed over to the Armory. (p. 862)²⁰⁵

552 及囚送江陵，烹於市。百姓有遭其毒者，並割炙食之。
He was also arrested and sent to Jiangling where he was boiled in the marketplace. The common people who had suffered from his evils butchered, roasted and ate him. (p. 864)

Weishu 魏書

403 於是賜紹母子死，誅帳下閹官、宮人為內應者十數人，其先犯乘輿者，群臣於城南都街生鬻割而食之。
Then he let Shao and his mother commit suicide. Of the eunuchs and palace attendants among his staff he executed over ten traitors. Those who had attacked his carriage first were cut to pieces alive and eaten by a group of officials in the streets south of the wall. (p. 390; also found in *Beishi*, p. 590)

Nanshi 南史

436 張超之聞兵入，遂至台殿故基，太於御床之所，為亂兵所殺，剖腹剗心，鬻割其肉，諸將生噉之。焚其頭骨。
When Zhang Chaozhi heard the soldiers enter, he proceeded to the old foundation of the He Hall and stopped in the imperial bed quarters. There he was killed by the rebel soldiers. His stomach was cut open, his heart carved out, his flesh cut to pieces and eaten raw by the generals. His bones were burned. (p. 394; slightly different version in *Songshu*, p. 2439)

²⁰⁴ Shorter version in *Nanshi*, p. 639. The barbarians were a Hun people.

²⁰⁵ In *Nanshi*, p. 2016–17, Jing's hands are cut off and his stomach filled with salt. In the marketplace he is eaten in the form of a thick soup (*geng* 羹).

502 賊謂已曉，乃散，官軍捕文明斬于東市，張氏親屬鬻食之。

After the morning had come the rebels dispersed. Wenming was caught by the regular troops and beheaded in the eastern market. Relatives of the Zhang family cut him to pieces and ate him up. (p. 1383)

532 智通子敞之割炙食之，即載出新亭，四面火炙之焦熟，敞車載錢設鹽蒜，雇百姓食徹一脔，賞錢一千。徒黨并母肉遂盡。

Zhitong's son Changzhi butchered, roasted and ate [a slice of] him. Thereupon he was transported out of Xinting. Along with the thoroughly roasted body, Chang's cart also carried money, salt and garlic. People were hired to eat one slice of Che's flesh for a reward of 1,000 *qian*. The flesh of his cronies and his mother then followed. (p. 1323)

Beishi 北史

525 於是斬昱下統帥三十七人，皆令蜀兵剖腹取心食之。

Then the 37 men under Yu's command were beheaded. All were disemboweled and their hearts eaten by the Shu soldiers. (p. 1493)

529 大將軍蕭寶夤西討，德廣為行臺郎，募眾而征，戰捷，乃手刃仇人，啖其肝肺。

When General-in-Chief Xiao Baoyin set out on a punitive campaign to the west, Deguang served as director of the branch department of state affairs. He raised troops for an expedition, won the battle, cut down an enemy with his own hands and ate his liver and lungs. (p. 3323)

554 是役也，有都督戰傷，其什長路暉禮不能救，帝命剝其五藏，使九人分食之，肉及穢惡皆盡。自是始行威虐。

During this campaign, when the commander-in-chief was wounded in battle and File Leader Lu Huili could not come to his rescue, the emperor ordered that his five viscera be cut out. The other nine in his file were forced to divide and eat him, until every last piece of him was gone. From then on the reign of terror began. (p. 250-51; also found in *Weishu*, p. 1294)

581 武通輕騎挑戰，墜馬，為賊所執，殺而噉之。

Wutong's light cavalry challenged them to a battle. When he fell off his horse he was caught, killed and eaten by the bandits. (p. 2528)

590 饒州吳世華起兵為亂，生衡縣令，啗其肉。

Then Wu Shihua of Raozhou rebelled. He cut the district magistrate to pieces alive and ate his flesh. (p. 2245)

Suishu 隋書

559 自六年之後，帝遂以功業自矜，恣行酷暴，昏狂醜虐，任情喜怒。為大鑊、長鋸、送碓之屬，並陳於庭，意有不快，則手自屠裂，或命左右鬻噉，以逞其意。

From the sixth year on, the achievements made the emperor more and more conceited. He became reckless, cruel and oppressive, befuddled by voracious drinking and had passionate mood swings. He used the great cauldron, the long saw, the cut and crush kind of punishments and he also carried them out at court. If he still was not satisfied he would personally butcher, or order those present to cut and eat the flesh of the victim to please himself. (p. 704)

589 於是夜發其陵，剖棺，見陳武帝鬚並不落，其本皆出自骨中。頒遂焚骨取灰，投水而飲之。既而自縛，歸罪於晉王。

Thereupon he went at night to his grave. When he broke the coffin he found that the beard of Emperor Wu of Chen had still not fallen off; the roots of the hairs all protruded from the bones. Ban then burned the bones, collected the ashes, threw them in water and drank it. Finally he tied himself up and returned to report his crime to the king of Jin. (p. 1666)

605 讎人剖其棺，鬻其肉而噉之，斯須咸盡。

The vengeful broke his coffin, sliced his flesh and ate it. In a moment it was all finished. (p. 1702; also *Beishi*, p. 2903)

613 及楊玄感反，帝誅之，罪及九族。其尤重者，行轆裂梟首之刑。或磔而射之，命公卿已下，脔噉其肉。

Then Yang Xuangang rebelled. The emperor meted a punishment which extended to the nine generations. The heavily involved were torn asunder by chariots and had their heads exposed. Some were butchered or shot at. Those from the rank of minister down were ordered to cut and eat their flesh. (p. 717)

614 斛斯政之罪，天地所不容，人神所同忿。若同常刑，賊臣逆子何以懲肅，請變常法。帝許之。於是將政出金光門，縛政於柱，公卿百僚並親擊射，脔割其肉，多有噉者。噉後烹煮，收其餘骨，焚而揚之。

'Neither in heaven nor on earth is there room for Hu Sizheng's crimes. Mortals and gods are equally angered. If a common punishment is used, how can reverence be instilled among rebels and ministers who disobey you? I beg you to change the method.' The emperor allowed it to be changed. Zheng was then taken out through the Jinguang door, tied to a pillar, shot at by ministers, officials, palace attendants and even relatives, cut to pieces and eaten by many. After being eaten and boiled, his remaining bones were collected, burnt and scattered. (p. 1622-23; slightly different version in *Beishi*, p. 1790)

Jiu Tangshu 舊唐書

627 (p. 4920; see pp. 100-101, this article; see also *Xin Tangshu*, p. 5585)

649 貞觀末，以謀反腰斬。右驍衛大將軍丘行恭探其心肝而食之，太宗聞而召行恭讓之曰：「刑典自有常科，何至於此！必若食逆者心肝為忠孝，則劉蘭之心為太子諸王所食，豈至卿邪？」行恭無以答。

At the end of the Zhenguan reign he was cut in half at the waist for plotting a rebellion. The Right Courageous Guard, General-in-Chief Qiu Xingong, took out and ate his heart and liver. When Taizong heard this he summoned Xingong to reprove him. He said: 'Although there are rules for how punishments should be administered something like this happens! If the hearts and livers of rebels are to be eaten for the sake of loyalty, should not Liu Lan's heart have been eaten by the Heir Apparent or the princes, and not by an official?' Xingong had nothing to answer. (p. 2524)

728 思勗縛架之數日，乃探取其心，截去手足，割肉而啖之，其殘酷如此。

Sixu tied him to a rack for a number of days, then carved out his heart, chopped off his hands and feet and cut his flesh into pieces and ate them. This is how cruel he was. (p. 4756; slightly different version in *Xin Tangshu*, p. 5857)

739 先是，鄆國公主之子薛諗與其黨李談、崔洽、石如山同於京城殺人，或利其財，或違其志，即白日椎殺，煮而食之。

Before this, Bi Shen, son of the princess of Xi, and his faction consisting of Li Tan, Cui Qia and Shi Rushan, murdered people in the capital. Some were robbed and some were violated. They also beat people to death in broad daylight, cooked and ate them. (p. 211)

766 因叱下斬之，脔其肉以飼從者。

Because of this he roared at his underlings to behead him. His flesh was cut to pieces and fed to his followers. (p. 3369)

799 是日，汴州軍亂，殺陸長源及節度判官孟叔度、丘穎，軍人脔而食之。

On this day the troops in Bianzhou rebelled. They killed Lu Changyuan, and Meng Shudu and Qiu Ying, administrative assistants to the military commander; The soldiers cut them to pieces and ate them up. (p. 389)

799 兵士怨怒滋甚，乃執長源及叔度等脔而食之，斯須骨肉糜散。

The soldiers were more hateful than ever before. They seized Changyuan, Shudu and the others, cut them to pieces and ate them. In a moment their flesh and bones were obliterated. (p. 3938)

807 既而遷延發期，潛與中使頻喻之，不悅，遂諷將士以給冬衣日殺潛而食之。監軍使聞亂，遣衙將趙琦慰喻，又脔食之。

Since he delayed the date for departure he was hurried on by Dan and an imperial commissioner. This

displeased him. He then mocked the commanders by killing and eating Dan on the same day as he issued winter clothes. When the army supervising commissioner heard of the turmoil and sent Zhao Qi, a general from the district office, to settle the matter he was also cut to pieces and eaten. (p. 3341. Case also found in *Xin Tangshu*, p. 5347)

812 李湍妻。湍，吳元濟之軍人也。元和中，淮南未平，湍心懷向順，乃急渡潁河，東降烏重胤。其妻遂為賊束縛在樹，齣而食之，至死，叫其夫曰：「善事烏僕射。」觀者義之。至是，重胤以其事請列史冊。十三年，憲宗下詔從之。

The wife of Li Tuan. Tuan was a soldier of Wu Yuanji's. In the middle of the Yuanhe reign when Huainan was not yet pacified, Tuan felt an urge to join the loyalist forces. He consequently crossed the Yin river and surrendered to Wu Chongyin in the east. His wife was then tied to a tree, cut to pieces and eaten. Right up until the point of death she shouted to her husband: 'Serve Vice Director Wu well.' The onlookers found her very righteous. For this, Chongyin petitioned that the incident be mentioned in the books of history. In the 13th year Xianzong followed his request. (p. 5149; slightly different version found on p. 4223 and in *Xin Tangshu*, p. 5827)

868 龐勛又令將劉贄攻濠州，陷之，囚刺史盧望回於迴車館，望回鬱憤而死，僕妾數人皆為賊蒸而食之。

Pang Xun also ordered General Liu Zhi to attack Haozhou. [Haozhou] was ensnared and the prefect Lu Wanghui taken prisoner at the Huiche lodge where he died in a fit of anxiety and anger. The many servants and concubines were all steamed and eaten by the rebels. (p. 664; see also *Xin Tangshu*, p. 4779)

Xin Tangshu 新唐書

618 嘗得庾信子立，怒其不降，磔之火，漸割以啖士。

When he got hold of Yu Xin's son Li, he was very angry that Li would not yield. He had him dismembered over a fire, cut to pieces little by little and fed to the soldiers. (p. 3707; slightly different version in *Jiu Tangshu*, p. 2247)

755 衛騎合，國忠突出，或射中其頰，殺之，爭噉其肉且盡，梟首以徇。

The garrison closed in on him. When Guozhong tried to break through he was shot in the brow, killed and all of his flesh fought over and eaten up. Exposure of his head then followed. (p. 5851)

756 祿山不勝忿，縛之天津橋柱，節解以肉噉之，誓不絕，賊鉤斷其舌，曰：「復能罵否？」杲卿含胡而絕，年六十五。

Lushan could not contain his anger. He tied him to a pillar of the Tianjin bridge, began dismembering him and feeding him with the flesh. He, however, continued shouting abuse. The rebels then cut out his tongue saying: 'Curse us now, if you can.' Mumbling Gaoqing died at the age of 65. (p. 5531)

784 懷光使士齣食之，皆曰：「烈士也，可令快死。」以刀斷其頸。

Huanguang ordered his soldiers to cut him to pieces and eat him. They said: 'He is a martyr and can be allowed to die fast.' A knife was used to cut off his head. (p. 5555; slightly different version in *Jiu Tangshu*, pp. 4907-08)

876 李廷節妻崔。乾符中，廷節為郟城尉。王仙芝攻汝州，廷節被執。賊見崔姝美，將妻之，詬曰：「我，士人妻，死亡有命，奈何受賊汙？」賊怒，剗其心食之。

Li Tingjie's wife Cui. In the middle of the Qianfu reign, Tingjie was appointed the defender of Jiacheng. During Wang Xianzhi's attack on Ruzhou, Tingjie was caught. When the bandit saw how beautiful Cui was, he wanted to marry her. She cursed him saying: 'I happen to be the wife of an officer. Since death is decided by destiny, why should I accept the defilement of bandits?' In their fury, the bandits cut out her heart and ate it. (p. 5830)

891 縱士執之，舐食於軍。

The attacking officers arrested him, cut him to pieces and fed him to the soldiers. (p. 6408)

Jiu Wudaishi 舊五代史

922 獲處球、處瑾、處琪并其母，及同惡高濛、李燾、齊儉等，皆折足送行臺，鎮人請舂而食之，發張文禮尸，磔於市。

They seized Chuqiu, Chujin and Chuqi together with their mother and also equally hated persons such as Gao Meng, Li Zhu and Qi Jian. After their feet were broken they were taken to the branch department of state affairs. There the people of Zhen asked that they be chopped to pieces and eaten. Zhang Wenli's body was exhumed and dismembered in the marketplace. (p. 402; slightly different version in *Jiu Wudaishi*, p. 831. In *Xin Wudaishi*, p. 415 people ask that he be chopped to pieces only)

930 瑋怒，令軍士十人，持刀割其膚，燃鑊於前，自取啗食，洪至死大罵不已。

Zhang was furious. He ordered ten of his men to pull out their knives, cut his flesh and heat up the cauldron in front of him. He took some of the flesh and ate it. Hong cursed them ceaselessly until he died. (p. 929; slightly different version in *Xin Wudaishi*, p. 358)

946 勳使人剖其心以祭死者，市人爭其肉而食之。

Xun had his heart cut out and sacrificed to the dead. People fought over and ate his flesh. (p. 1308)

948 掌禁軍時，左右有犯罪者，召其妻子，對之斲割，令自食其肉；或從足支解至首，血流盈前，而命樂對酒，無仁愍之色。

When he was in charge of the Imperial Army and someone had committed a crime, he would summon the wife and children of the offender, cut him to pieces in front of them and order the man to eat his own flesh. He dismembered some from head to foot, and while blood gushed forward he ordered music and wine, showing no trace of compassion. (p. 1386, slightly different version in *Xin Wudaishi*, p. 195)

Xin Wudaishi 新五代史

911 守光怒，推之甲鎖，令軍士割而啖之。

Shouguang was angered, pushed him down into the executioner's block and ordered his soldiers to cut him up and eat him. (p. 426; slightly different version in *Jiu Wudaishi*, pp. 1804-05. In these two accounts we also find an explanation of the term *hai* as meaning cut to pieces inch by inch)

926-933 從簡好食人肉，所至多潛捕民間小兒以食。許州富人王有玉帶，欲之而不可得，遣二卒夜入其家殺而取之。

Congjian liked eating human flesh. Wherever he went he secretly caught people's babies for the purpose of eating them. When a wealthy person in Xuzhou had a jade belt that Congjian coveted but could not get, he sent two of his soldiers to enter their house at night, kill the owner and take it. (p. 521)

929 凡唐戍兵東歸者，皆遮留之，獲其逃者，覆以鐵籠，火炙之，或剖肉釘面，割心而啖。

All the frontier soldiers of Tang returning to the east were held back. When the fleeing were caught, the iron cage and fire was used continuously. Some had their flesh slashed and nails driven through their faces, and their hearts cut out and eaten. (p. 575)

932 送者聞之，疾馳二日而至，軍士踴躍，磔文傑於市，閩人爭以瓦石投之，鬻食立盡。

The transporters heard this and managed to make the distance in a two-day express ride. In the frenzy that followed, soldiers dismembered Wenjie at the market. The people of Min fought with each other as they threw tiles and rocks at him, cut him to pieces and ate him up in a moment. (p. 849)

946 耶律德光至京師，聞劫掠，怒，鎖之。高勳亦自訴於德光，德光以其狀示百官及都人，問：「彥澤當誅否？」百官皆請不赦，而都人爭投狀疏其惡，乃命高勳監殺之。彥澤前所殺士大夫子孫，皆綴絰杖哭，隨而詬詈，以杖朴之，彥澤俛首無一言。行至北市，斷腕出鎖，然後用刑，勳剖其心祭死者，市人爭破其腦，取其髓，鬻其肉而食之。

嗚呼！晉之事醜矣，而惡亦極也！其禍亂覆亡之不暇，蓋必然之理爾。使重威等雖不叛以降虜，亦未必不亡；然開虜之隙，自一景延廣，而卒成晉禍者，此三人也。視重威、彥澤之死，而晉人所以甘心者，可以知其憤疾怨怒於斯人者，非一日也。至於爭已戮之尸，鬻其肉，剔其髓而食之，擄裂蹈踐，

斯須而盡，何其甚哉！此自古未有也。然當是時，舉晉之兵皆在北面，國之存亡，繫此三人之勝敗，則其任可謂重矣。蓋天下惡之如彼，晉方任之如此，而終以不悟，豈非所謂臨亂之君，各賢其臣者歟？

When Yelü Deguang arrived in the capital and heard of Yanze's raids he was furious and had Yanze incarcerated. Gao Xun also set his personal grievances before Deguang. Deguang showed his accusation to all his officials as well as the city's inhabitants and asked: 'Should Yanze be punished?' All the officials appealed to him not to pardon him. The inhabitants vied with each other to hand in presentations stating his evils. After this, Gao Xun was ordered to supervise the execution. The children and grandchildren of the officials killed by Yanze all donned coarse mourning garment, carried staffs, cried, shouted abuse and hit him with their staffs as they followed him to the market. Yanze hung down his head and did not utter one word. When they arrived at the northern market they released him from his shackles by cutting off his wrists. Then his punishment was executed. Xun carved out his heart as a sacrifice to the dead, people at the market rushed to break his skull and extract his brain, cut his flesh to pieces and eat it.

Alas! Ugly are the matters of the Jin, and exceedingly evil as well! Ceaseless interior disorder becomes the only inevitable principle. If Chongwei and the others had not surrendered to the barbarians it is still uncertain whether the Jin would have survived. But when the barbarians were first given a foothold by Jing Yanguang, these three people finally brought about the fall of Jin. If we look at Chongwei's and Yanze's deaths and the appeasement of the Jin people we can understand that the anger towards these men was not built up in a day. As for assaulting a corpse, cutting its flesh to pieces, picking out its brain and eating it, pulling at it and stomping upon it, obliterating it in a moment; why these extremes? Since ancient times there has not been anything like it. However, at this time when all the armed forces of Jin were stationed in the north and the destiny of the country was tied to the wins or losses of these three men it can certainly be said that their responsibility was heavy. When the world hated them like that and the Jin still trusted them like this without coming to their senses even in the bitter end, is it not a case of leaders on the verge of chaos putting too much faith in their ministers? (p. 600–01; see too *Jiu Wudaishi*, pp. 1307–08)

947 承勳事晉為鄭州防禦使，德光滅晉，使人召承勳至京師，責其劫父，鬻而食之，乃以承信為平盧節度使。

Chengxun served Jin as defence commissioner of Zhengzhou. When Deguang destroyed Jin, Chengxun was summoned to the capital, charged with the abduction of his father and cut to pieces and eaten. Thereafter Chengxin was appointed the military governor of Pinglu. (p. 590)

Songshi 宋史

910 (p. 9290; see p. 101, this article)

969 西人有犯漢法者，彥昇不加刑，召僚屬飲宴，引所犯以手掙斷其耳，大嚼，卮酒下之。

When the Westerners broke the Han law, Yansheng did not execute the punishments in person. Instead he summoned his staff officers for a feast, instructed the offenders to tear off one of their own ears by hand, take a large bite of it and down it with a goblet of alcohol. (p. 8829)

977 繼勳殘暴愈甚，強市民家子女備給使，小不如意，即殺食之，而棺其骨棄野外。

Jixun's cruelties worsened. He forced families to prepare to give away their sons and daughters to his officials. If there was the slightest thing about their behaviour that he was not satisfied with he would kill and eat them, collect their bones and throw them away in the wild.

長壽寺僧黃惠常與繼勳同食人肉，令折其脛而斬之。洛民稱快。

According to the order, the monk of the Changshou temple, who often had eaten human flesh together with Jixun, had his shinbones broken and his head cut off. This was praised by the people in Luo. (p. 13542–43)

984 眾皆感憤，遂破其眾於平津亭，擒文表鬻而食之。

Everyone felt anger. His followers were later defeated at the Pingjin pavilion. Wenbiao was caught, cut to pieces and eaten. (p. 13591)

1101-1125 賊怒，齧其肉，使自啖之。良臣吐且罵，至死不絕聲，見者掩面流涕，時年七十二。
The bandits were furious. They cut out a piece of his flesh and made him eat it. Liangchen spat and cursed and was silenced only by death. The onlookers hid their faces and cried. He was 72 years old. (p. 13159)

1102 永年不之備，羌遽執永年以叛，遂為多羅巴所殺，探其心肝食之，謂其下曰：「此人奪我國，使吾宗族漂落無處所，不可不殺也。」
Unprepared as he was, Yongnian was suddenly arrested by the Qiangs for rebellion. He was then killed by Duoluoba, who cut out and ate his heart and liver saying: 'This man has stolen my country and caused my people to drift about with no place to go. It is impossible not to kill him.' (p. 13316)

1131 紹興元年，賊劉忠入其境，執知微以去，知微不屈，忠怒，齧而食之。
In the first year of the Shaoxing reign the bandit Liu Zhong crossed the border, seized Zhiwei and dismissed him. However, Zhiwei refused to yield. This infuriated Zhong who cut him to pieces and ate him. (p. 13336)

Liaoshi 諜史

947 晉人齧食之。
The people of Jin cut him to pieces and ate him up. (p. 59)

Jinshi 金史

1232 會移兵攻徐，用安投水死，求得其尸，皮面繫馬尾，為怨家田福一軍齧食而盡。
Soon thereafter the troops were moved to attack Xu. Yongan drowned himself. His body, however, was sought after and when it was found, his face was peeled off and tied to the tail of a horse. He was then cut to pieces and eaten up by the bereaved families of Tian Fu's army. (p. 2564. *Pi* 皮 should have a knife radical to the right)

1234 乃梟立首，望承天門祭哀宗。伯淵以下軍民皆慟，或剖其心生噉之。以三尸挂闕前槐樹上，樹忽拔，人謂樹有靈亦厭其為所汙。
As a sacrifice to Emperor Aizong, Li's head was exposed facing the Chengtian Gate. Bo Yuan and his underlings were all very affected. Someone cut out his heart and ate it raw. The three bodies were hung up in a Huai-tree outside the watchtower of the gate. Suddenly the tree tipped over. People said that there was a spirit in the tree that detested its whereabouts being polluted. (p. 2530)

Yuanshi 元史

1267 賊脅使從己，景茂罵曰：「狗盜！我生為大元民，死作隔洲鬼，豈從汝為逆耶！」隔洲，其所居里也。賊怒，縛景茂於樹，齧其肉，使自啖。景茂益憤罵，賊遂以刀決其口，至耳傍，景茂罵不絕聲而死。有司上其事，朝廷命褒表之，仍給錢以葬。
When the bandits tried to force him to join their ranks Jingmao cursed and said: 'Dogs you are! I have lived as a subject of the great Yuan empire, and I will die as the ghost of Gezhou. Why would I join you in your rebellion?' Gezhou was the village he lived in. The bandits were angered, tied Jingmao to a tree, cut his flesh to pieces and made him eat it. Jingmao, who became even more angry, continued cursing them. The bandits then cut his mouth with a knife. On [the blade] reaching his ears Jingmao died without ceasing to curse. An official presented his case to the court and they ordered that insignia of praise should be conferred upon him and also that money be donated to pay for his funeral. (p. 4388)

1360 兵不從，劉氏曰：「吾夫瘦小，不可食。吾聞婦人肥黑者味美，吾肥且黑，願就烹以代夫死。」兵遂釋其夫而烹劉氏。聞者莫不哀之。
The soldiers did not agree, so Mrs Liu said: 'My husband is thin and little and cannot be eaten. I have heard that the taste of women who are fat and dark is delicious. I am fat and dark and willing to be boiled and die instead of my husband.' The soldiers then released her husband and boiled Mrs Liu. Everyone who heard about it pitied her. (p. 4510; similar cases of [attempted] self-sacrifice to hungry bandits are found in the *Hou Hanshu*, pp. 1295-96 and pp. 1298-99. Kuwabara lists these cases in his section on fiction, pp. 128-30)

Mingshi 明史

1465 倫大會所部目、把縛俘囚，置高皆，集健卒亂射殺之，復割裂肢體，烹噉諸壯士。

Lun summoned the squad leaders, placed the tied-up prisoners on high poles and gathered some able-bodied soldiers to shoot and kill them, cut and dismember their bodies and cook and eat the strong-men. (p. 4494)

1621 賊遣使說降，盡倫大怒，手刃賊使，抉其睛啖之，屢挫賊鋒，城獲全。

The rebels sent a messenger to persuade them to surrender. This infuriated Jin to the extent that he cut the messenger down, scooped out an eye ball and swallowed it. By repeatedly repelling the vanguard of the rebels, the city never fell. (p. 7445)

1645 澤清笑曰：「君怖耶？」命取囚撲死階下，剗其腦及心肝，置甌中，和酒，付猿捧之前。飲酬，顏色自若。其兇忍多此類。

Zeqing laughed and said: 'Is that fear perhaps?' He then had a prisoner fetched and beaten to death below the steps, his brain, heart and liver scooped out, put in the vessel, mixed with the alcohol, and then a monkey to bring it forward. Without changing his countenance, he drained the goblet. He was often cruel like this. (p. 7008)

Qingshi gao 清史稿

1617 揚古利手刃殺父者，割耳鼻生啖之，時年甫十四，太祖深異焉。日見信任，妻以女，號為「額駙」。

Yang Guli stabbed the killer of his father with his own hand, cut off his ears and nose and ate them raw. At the time he was only 14 years old. Emperor Taizu found him very extraordinary. His trust in him grew day by day. He gave him the hand of his daughter and called him the 'imperial son-in-law'. (p. 9191)

1644 夫明，爾忘抱罕脚木主至，爾雪于其旁熬釜，爾忘取息舌，爾雪探心肝，且祭且噉，爾忘乃斷息頭。

When morning broke, Erwang had fetched Hanqing's tablet and Erxue had heated the cauldron. Erwang took out Xi's tongue. Erxue cut out his heart and liver, which they sacrificed and ate. Erwang then cut off Xi's head. (p. 13782)

1644-1661 承恩方與吏耳語，伺其出，以鐵骨朵擊之，仆，急拔刀斷其喉，又抉其睛啖之，詣縣自陳，出所藏銀為證。

Cheng'en had just whispered his plan to the officials, when Xianheng, who had waited for him to come out, struck him with an iron bar. When Cheng'en fell over, Xianheng pulled out his knife and slit Cheng'en's throat. He also scooped out an eye and ate it before leaving to give himself in at the magistrate's office. He brought with him the hidden silver as evidence. (p. 13785)

1911 以手槍自擊而仆，變軍碎其尸，剖心啖之。上聞，有「忠骸支解，慘不忍聞」之諭，謚忠壯。

With only a hand gun he attacked on his own and fell. The rebel soldiers mishandled his corpse, cut out his heart and ate it. The emperor heard of this and issued a 'Unbearable sadness prevents me from hearing about the loyal being dismembered' edict and conferred the title of 'loyal strongman' upon him. (p. 13711)

a. Piety-related accounts

Jiu Tangshu 舊唐書

621 (p. 2488; slightly different version in *Xin Tangshu*, p. 3821; see p. 109, this article)

823 二月，天平軍監軍奏：節度使烏重胤病，牙將王贊割股肉以療。

In the second month the supervisor of the Tianping army presented a memorial to the court: 'When Military Commissioner Wu Chongyin fell ill, Military Specialist Wang Zhi cut flesh from his own thigh to cure him.' (p. 502)

Xin Tangshu 新唐書

(p. 5577; see p. 121 of this article)

684-701 (p. 5600; slightly different version in *Jiu Tangshu*, p. 5118; see this article; p. 109)

785 章全益，梓州涪城人。少孤，為兄全啟所鞠。母病，全啟割股膳母而愈。及全啟亡，全益服斬衰，斷手一指以報。不畜妻，僮僕處一室，賣藥自業，世傳能作黃金。居成都四十年，號章孝子，卒，年九十八。

Zhang Quanyi was a native of Fucheng in Zizhou. At a young age he was left fatherless and was fostered by Quanqi, his brother. When his mother fell ill, Quanqi cut flesh from his own thigh and fed her with it to make her recover. When Quanqi died, Quanyi wore the heaviest mourning and cut off a finger as requital. He did not have a wife to provide for and lived with his servants in a single room. He had his own business selling medicine and it was rumoured that he had the ability to make gold. He lived in Chengdu for 40 years, was called Filial Son Zhang and died at the age of 98. (p. 5591. Dating unreliable)

790 又有何澄粹者，池州人。親病日劇，俗尚鬼，病者不進藥。澄粹剔股肉進，親疾為瘳。

There was also He Chengcui, a native of Chizhou, whose relative got sicker by the day. Local tradition held that the disease was inflicted upon him by ghosts and therefore he would not take medicine. Dengcui presented flesh cut from his thigh and the relative quickly recovered. (p. 5589. Dating unreliable)

827 重胤出行申，善撫士，與下同甘苦。蔡將李端降重胤，蔡人執其妻殺之，妻呼曰：「善事烏僕射！」得士心大抵如此。待官屬有禮，當時有名士如溫造、石洪皆在幕府。既歿，士二十餘人割股以祭。

Chongyin began as a common soldier and became a very adept leader who shared both the sweet and the bitter with his men. Cai's general, Li Duan, surrendered to Chongyin, and when Cai's men caught and killed his wife she shouted: 'Serve Vice Director Wu well.' It was probably in this way that she won the hearts of the officers. He treated his subordinates with propriety. At the time there were famous scholars such as Wen Zao and Shi Hong in the private secretariat. When he died more than twelve officers cut flesh from their thighs to be used as an offering. (p. 5188)

832 大和六年卒，年七十二。下有割股肉以祭者。贈司空，諡曰貞。

He died in the sixth year of the Taihe reign at the age of 72. Among his underlings some cut flesh from their thighs as a sacrifice. The title Minister of Works and the name Zhen was posthumously conferred upon him. (p. 4198; see also *Songshu*, p. 8754 for another example of thigh cutting without eating)

Jiu Wudaishi 舊五代史

907 (p. 4198; see this article, p. 111; see also *Songshu*, p. 8754 for another example of thigh cutting without eating)

Xin Wudaishi 新五代史

926-933 (p. 647-48; see this article, p. 111; on the habit of dwelling in mourning sheds, see de Groot, vol. 2, pp. 479-85)

Songshi 宋史

Introduction to *Xiaoyi* section (p. 13386; see p. 118-119 of this article)

950 審徵幼以孝聞，母病，割股肉啖之。

As a child, Shenzheng was known for his filial devotion. When his mother fell ill, he cut flesh from his own thigh and fed her with it. (p. 13384)

969 (p. 13387; see p. 112 of this article)

983 真妻病，子晏割股肉以養母，及死，次子守規徒跣，日一食，廬墓三年。太平興國八年，詔旌表之。

When Zhen's wife fell ill, his son Yan cut flesh from his own thigh to nourish her. When she died, the second son Shougui wore no shoes, ate only once a day and dwelt in a shed at the side of her grave for three years. In the eighth year of the Taiping Xingguo reign an imperial edict said that a banner of distinction should be erected. (p. 13401)

992 (p. 13388; see p. 112 of this article)

992 母病，割股肉食之，詔賜束帛清酒。

When his mother fell ill he cut flesh from his own thigh and fed her with it. By imperial decree bundles of silk and *lao* wine was bestowed upon him. (p. 13395)

1000 其子嘗病，贊割股為羹療之。

When his son was sick Zan cut flesh from his own thigh and made it into gruel to cure him. (p. 9489)

1006 三年，被疾，子承慶割股肉食之。五月，卒，年四十五。

In the third year he was taken by disease. His son, Chengqing, cut flesh from his own thigh and fed him with it. In the fifth month he died at the age of 45. (p. 8671)

1011 父疾，天祐割股肉食之；疾愈，又復病目喪明，天祐號泣祈天祇之。

When his father fell ill, Tianyou cut flesh from his own thigh and fed him with it. After recovery he fell ill again and lost his eyesight. Tianyou then wailed and prayed to heaven and licked his eyes. (p. 13397)

1016 益州雙流人周善敏，喪父，廬於墓側。母病，又割股肉以啖之，遂愈。

When Zhou Shanmin of Shuangliu, Yizhou, lost his father he dwelt in a shed at the side of the grave. When his mother fell ill, he cut flesh from his own thigh and fed her with it. She subsequently recovered. (p. 13399)

1023-1063 母病，輒割股肉和藥以進，母遂愈。其後母卒，廬于墓，自負土植松柏。

When his mother fell ill, he immediately gave her a mixture of flesh cut from his own thigh and medicine. His mother then recovered. Later on when his mother died, he dwelt in a shed at the side of her grave, carried the soil himself and planted pines and cypresses. (p. 10491; for the qualities of pine and cypress see de Groot, vol. 1, pp. 294–300 and for tree planting on graves, see de Groot, vol. 2, pp. 460–68)

1032 揆幼篤孝，蘊病，割股肉以療。

As a child Shan was a sincere and filial devotee. When Wen fell ill he cut flesh from his own thigh to cure him. (p. 10699)

1040 蔣偕字齊賢，華州鄭縣人。幼貧，有立志。父病，嘗割股以療，父愈，詰之曰：「此豈孝邪？」曰：「情之所感，實不自知也。」

Jiang Xie, style name Qixian, was a native of Zheng county, Huazhou. He grew up in poor circumstances, but with moral rectitude. When his father fell ill he cut flesh from his own thigh to cure him. When his father recovered he reproved him saying: 'Is this supposed to be filial devotion?' Xie answered: 'I honestly lack knowledge about the emotions I harbour.' (p. 10519)

1068-1085 上以孝取人，則勇者割股，怯者廬墓。

If the court recruits people for their filial devotion, the brave will cut their thighs and the cowards will abide in sheds at their ancestral graves. (p. 3617)

1101-1118 (p. 11023; see p. 115 of this article)

1121 楊慶，鄆人。父病，貧不能召醫，迺割股肉啖之，良已。其後母病不能食，慶取右乳焚之，以灰和藥進焉，入口遂差，久之乳復生。

Yang Qing was a native of Yin. When his father fell ill he was too poor to summon a doctor so he cut flesh from his own thigh and fed him with it. His father recovered. After this his mother fell ill

and could not eat. Qing then took his right breast and burnt it, mixed the ashes with medicine and presented it to her. After eating it she recovered. A long time later the breast grew back again. (p. 13411)

1140 同縣有朱雲孫妻劉氏，姑病，雲孫剖股肉作糜以進而愈。姑復病，劉亦剖股以進，又愈。尚書謝譔為賦孝婦詩。

In the same county there was the wife of Zhu Yunsun, Mrs. Liu. When her mother-in-law fell ill, Yunsun cut flesh from his own thigh, cooked it with gruel and presented it to her. She recovered. Then when the mother-in-law fell ill again, Liu also cut flesh from her thigh and presented it to her. Again, she recovered. Minister Xie E composed a poem entitled 'Ode to the Devout Wife. (p. 13488)

1142 (p. 13412; see p. 115 of this article)

1175 甲幼孤多難，母病，剖股以進。

As a child Jia was left fatherless and suffered many hardships. When his mother fell ill, he cut flesh from his own thigh and presented it to her. (p. 12095)

1190 黃得血痢疾瀕殆，伯威剔左臂肉食之，遂愈。繼母楊因姑病篤，驚而成疾，伯威復剔臂肉作粥以進，其疾亦愈。伯威妹嫁崔均，其姑王疾，妹亦剔左臂肉作粥以進，達旦即愈。

Huang then had dysentery and was on the brink of death when Bowei cut flesh from his left arm and fed her with it. She subsequently recovered. Then his step-mother Yang worried so much about the serious condition of her mother-in-law that she fell ill. Bowei then again cut flesh from his arm, made it into a gruel, and presented it to her. Her disease then abated. Bowei's younger sister, who was married to Cui Jun, also cut flesh from her arm, when Wang, her mother-in-law, fell ill. She made it into a gruel, presented it to her and, at dawn, she had recovered. (p. 13414)

1229 葵母疾，謁告省侍不得，剖股雜藥以寄之。

When Kui's mother fell ill he asked for leave to take care of her. When he was turned down he cut flesh from his own thigh, mixed it with medicine and sent it to her. (p. 12500)

1260 呂仲洙女，名良子，泉州晉江人。父得疾瀕殆，女焚香祝天，請以身代，剖股為粥以進。

Lü Zhongzhu and his daughter Liangzi were natives of Jinjiang, Quanzhou. When her father fell critically ill she burned incense and prayed to heaven that her body would replace his and cut flesh from her thigh, made it into a gruel and presented it to him. (p. 13491)

Jinshi 金史

1129 溫迪罕幹魯補，西北路宋葛斜斯渾猛安人。年十五，居父喪，不飲酒食肉，廬于墓側。母疾，剖股肉療之，疾愈。詔以為護衛。

Wendihan Wolubu was a soldier of the Songxiesihun battalion in the Xibei province. At 15 years of age, when he mourned his father's death, he neither drank nor ate meat and dwelt in a hut at the side of the grave. When his mother fell ill, he cut flesh from his own thigh to cure her. She quickly recovered. A decree said that he should be employed as an officer of the imperial bodyguard. (p. 2746)

1130 雷婦師氏，夫亡，孝養舅姑。姑病，剖臂肉飼之，姑即愈。

The wife of Lei, Madame Shi. When her husband died she devotedly provided for her parents-in-law. When her mother-in-law fell ill she cut flesh from her own arm and fed her with it. Her mother-in-law then recovered. (p. 2798)

1139 迪性純孝，父病，醫藥弗效，迪仰天泣禱，剖股作羹，由是獲安。

Di's nature was one of purity and filial devotion. When his father fell ill and the physicians' medicines had no effect Di turned to heaven crying and praying, cut flesh from his own thigh and made it into a gruel. This way his father found peace. (p. 2013)

1192 王震，寧海州文登縣人。為進士學。母患風疾，剖股肉雜飲食中，疾遂愈。

Wang Zhen was a native of Wendeng county, Ninghai prefecture, who studied for the presented scholar degree. When his mother suffered a stroke he cut flesh from his own thigh and mixed it with other edibles. His mother subsequently recovered. (p. 2747)



1192 劉政，洺州人。性篤孝，母老喪明，政每以舌舐母目，逾旬母能視物。母疾，晝夜侍側，衣不解帶，割股肉啖之者再三。

Liu Zheng was a native of Mingzhou. His character was one of honesty and filial devotion. When his mother grew old and lost her eyesight Zheng often licked his mothers' eyes with his tongue. After more than ten days his mother could see things again. When his mother fell ill he was at her side attending her day and night, not even taking time to change his clothes. He also three times fed her flesh cut from his own thigh. (p. 2747)

1220 哀宗皇后，徒單氏。宣宗及后有疾，后嘗割膚以進，宣宗聞而嘉之。

The empress to Emperor Aizong, Madame Tudan. When Xuanzong and his empress fell ill, the Empress [Madame Tudan] had once cut her own skin and presented it to them. When Xuanzong heard of this, he commended her. (p. 1535)

1224-1234 舜英謁醫救療百方，至割其股雜他肉以進，而天驥竟死。

After Shunying had asked physicians for hundreds of prescriptions, she finally cut flesh from her own thigh, mixed it with other meat and presented it to him. But Tianji still died. (p. 2804)

Yuanshi 元史

諸為子行孝，輒以割肝、割股、埋兒之屬為孝者，並禁太之。

All manifestations of filial devotion by self-willed acts such as the cutting of livers and thighs, or the burying of sons, are forbidden. (p. 2682)

1264-1294 潭州萬戶移刺瓊子李家奴，九歲，母病，醫言不可治，李家奴割股肉，煮糜以進，病乃痊。撫州路總管管如林、渾州民朱天祥，並以母疾割股，旌其家。

When Li Jianu, the son of Tanzhou brigade commander Yi Ciqiong was nine years of age his mother fell ill. Physicians said that it could not be cured. Li Jianu then cut flesh from his own thigh, cooked into a gruel and presented it to her. The disease abated. The assistant brigade commander of the Fuzhou route, Guan Rulin, and Zhu Tianxiang, native of Hunzhou, had also cut their thighs to cure their mothers' disease. Insignia were conferred on their homes. (p. 4443)

1264-1294 母年七十餘，患風疾，藥餌不效，豬狗割股肉進啖，遂愈。

When his mother was over 70 years old, she suffered a stroke. When medicine had no effect, Zhugou fed her flesh cut from his own thigh. She subsequently recovered. (p. 4443)

1264-1294 孔全，亳州鹿邑人。父成病，割股肉啖之，愈。

Kong Quan was a native of Luyi, Bozhou. When his father fell ill, he fed him with flesh cut from his own thigh. His father recovered. (p. 4445)

1271 母嘗有疾，醫累歲不能療，道壽割股肉啖之而愈。至元八年，賜羊酒，表其門。

When his mother had an ailment that physicians for many years could not cure, Daoshou made her recover by feeding her flesh cut from his own thigh. In the eighth year of the Zhiyuan reign, they were given a sheep and wine, and insignia to mark their door. (p. 4442)

1297 父母舅姑病，凡四割股肉救不懈。

When her father, mother and parents-in-law fell ill, she cut flesh from her thigh four times altogether in an unremitting effort to save them. (p. 4493)

1307 姑嘗病，郎濤天，割股肉進啖而愈。後姑喪，以哀聞。大德十一年，旌美之。又有東平鄭氏、大寧杜氏、安西楊氏，並少寡守志，割體肉療姑病。

When her mother-in-law fell ill, Lang prayed to heaven and made her recover by feeding her with flesh cut from her own thigh. Later on when her mother-in-law died, her grief made her known. In the eleventh year of the Dade reign she was praised with insignia. There were also Mrs Zheng of Dongping, Mrs Du of Daning and Mrs Yang of Anxi, all widowed at a young age but remaining chaste, who cut their bodies to cure their mothers-in-law's diseases. (p. 4486)

1307 秦氏二女，河南宜陽人，逸其名。父嘗有危疾，醫云不可攻。姊閉戶默禱，鑿已腦和藥進飲，遂愈。父後復病欲絕，妹割股肉置粥中，父小啜即甦。

The two daughters of the Qin family came from Yiyang in Henan. Their first names are lost. Once when their father fell seriously ill and the physicians said that his disease could not be overcome, the elder sister closed the doors and prayed in silence, hacked a hole in her own head, mixed what she had extracted with medicine and presented it to him to drink. He subsequently recovered. Later on when their father fell critically ill again, the younger sister cut flesh from her own thigh and put it in a gruel. After drinking some of it he was revived. (p. 4486)

1307 許氏女，安豐人。父疾，割股啖之乃痊。

The daughter of Madame Xu was a native of Anfeng. When her father fell ill, she cut flesh from her own thigh and fed him with it. He subsequently recovered. (p. 4487)

1324 趙榮，扶風人。母強氏有疾，榮割股肉啖之者三。復負母登太白山，禱于神，得聖水飲之，乃痊。後年七十五卒，榮號痛不食，三日方飲水，七日乃食粥。葬之日，白雲庇其墓前後十五里，葬畢而散。榮負土成墳，廬其側終喪。

Zhao Rong was a native of Fufeng. When his mother, Madame Jiang, fell ill, Rong three times cut flesh from his own thigh and fed her with the pieces. He repeatedly carried his mother to ascend Mount Taibai, pray to the gods and obtain holy water. After he made her drink the water, she recovered. Later on, at the age of 75, she died. Rong wailed bitterly and stopped eating. Only after three days, he drank some water and after seven days, he ate some gruel. On the day of her funeral white clouds covered everything within a 15 li radius of the grave. When the funeral was over they dispersed. Rong carried the earth for the mound himself and completed the period of mourning in a shed at the side of her grave. (p. 4456)

1328 考侶乃齋沐焚香，泣告于天，以所佩小刀於右脅傍割其皮膚，割脂一片，煎藥以進，父疾遂瘳，其傷亦旋愈。朝廷旌表其門。

Banlü then fasted, bathed, burned incense and prayed to heaven with tears in his eyes. He then used the small knife he wore at his waist to make an incision in the skin of his right side, cut off some fat, boil it with medicine and present it. His father's disease was then healed and his own wound as well. The court conferred insignia on their door. (p. 4465)

1341 用疾，蘇氏割股為粥以進，疾即愈。

When Yong fell ill, Mrs Su cut her thigh for a gruel which she presented. The disease was then cured. (p. 4499)

Mingshi 明史

1368-1398 劉事姑謹，姑道病，刺血和藥以進。抵和州，夫卒，劉種蔬給姑食。越二年，姑患風疾不能起，晝夜奉湯藥，驅蚊蠅不離側。姑體腐，蛆生席間，為齧蛆，蛆不復生。及姑疾篤，剖肉食之，少甦，踰月而卒，殯之舍側。

Liu served her mother-in-law with the utmost attentiveness. When she fell ill on the journey, she pricked herself for some blood, mixed it with medicine and presented it to her. When they arrived in Hezhou, her husband died. Liu then grew vegetables to nourish her mother-in-law. Over two years later, her mother-in-law suffered a stroke and could not get out of bed. Day and night Liu gave her soups and medicine, chased away mosquitos and flies, never leaving her side. When her mother-in-law's body began to decompose and maggots appeared between the mats, she bit them so that they would not come alive again. When her mother-in-law's condition became critical, Liu cut her own flesh and fed her with it. She recovered slightly but after a month had passed she died. She laid her in a coffin and put her next to where she lived. (p. 7691)

1393 沈德四，直隸華亭人。祖母疾，割股療之愈。已而祖父疾，又剖肝作湯進之，亦愈。洪武二十六年被旌。尋授太常贊禮郎。上元姚金玉、昌平王德兒亦以剖肝愈母疾，與德四同旌。

Shen Desi was a native of Huating, Zhili. When his grandmother fell ill, he cured her by cutting his thigh. Short after, his grandfather fell ill. He then cut his liver for a soup which he presented to him. He also recovered. In the 26th year of the Hungwu reign he received insignia and was appointed ceremonial assistant in the Court of Imperial Sacrifices. Yao Jinyu of Shangyuan and Wang Deer of Changping, who also had cut their livers to cure their mothers, received insignia together with Desi. (p. 7593)

1394-1398 百官聞父母喪，不待報，得去官。割股臥冰，傷生有禁。

The officials were informed that when their parents die, they should not await the order but resign from office promptly. Thigh cutting and lying on ice; injuring life, was forbidden. (p. 7576)

1394 (pp. 3946-47; slightly different version on p. 7593; see p. 119-120 of this article)

1403-1424 永樂間，江陰衛卒徐佛保等復以割股被旌。而掖縣張信、金吾右衛總旗張法保援李德成故事，俱擢尚寶丞。迨英、景以還，即割股者亦格於例，不以聞，而所旌，大率皆廬墓者矣。

In the Yongle reign, insignia were again conferred on Xu Fobao and other soldiers of the Jiangyin Guard for cutting their thighs. And when Zhang Xin of Yexian, and Zhang Fabao, platoon commander of the Right Imperial Insignia Guard quoted the story of Li Decheng as a precedent, they were all promoted to seals office aides. From the reigns of the emperors Ying and Jing onwards, thigh cutting was again removed from the statutes and therefore not promoted. Insignia were mostly conferred on those who dwelt in sheds beside graves. (pp. 7593-94)

1413 劉鉉，字宗器，長洲人。生彌月而孤。及長，刲股療母疾。母卒，哀毀，以孝聞。

Liu Xuan, style name Zongqi, was a native of Changzhou. One month after he was born, his father died. When he grew up he cut his thigh to cure a disease of his mother's. When she died, he was devastated by grief and becoming famous for his filial devotion. (p. 4425)

1427 朱鑑，字用明，晉江人。童時刲股療父疾。

Zhu Jian, style name Yongming, was a native of Jinjiang. As a child he cut his thigh to cure a disease of his father's. (p. 4587)

1460 後有張氏，儀真周祥妻。姑病，醫百方不效。一方士至其門曰：「人肝可療。」張割左脅下，得膜如絮，以手探之沒腕，取肝二寸許，無少痛，作羹以進姑，病遂瘳。

Then there was also Madame Zhang, wife of Zhou Xiang of Yizhen. When her mother-in-law fell ill, none of a hundred prescriptions did her any good. A Taoist then arrived at their door and said: 'Human liver will cure her.' Zhang made an incision in her left side below the ribs, got hold of a membrane resembling refuse silk, probed it until her hand was immersed up to the wrist and ended up with about two inches of liver. It did not hurt in the least. She made gruel and presented it to her mother-in-law. The disease then abated. (p. 7701)

1460 秦奴三割胸肉食母，不效。一日薄暮，剖胸取肝一片，昏仆良久。及甦，以衣裏創，手和粥以進，母遂愈。

To no avail Tainu three times cut flesh from own her chest to feed her mother with. One evening she slit her chest and extracted a piece of her own liver. She then fell unconscious for a long time. When she awoke she bound the wound with a piece of her clothing, mixed the flesh with gruel and presented it to her mother, who subsequently recovered. (p. 7701)

1483 儲燾，字靜夫，泰州人。九歲能屬文。母疾，刲股療之，卒不起。家貧，力營墓域。旦哭冢，夜讀書不輟。

Chu Quan, style name Jingfu, was a native of Taizhou. At nine years of age he could make literary compositions. When his mother fell ill he cut his thigh to cure her. She died, however, without getting up again. His family was poor and had to put a lot of effort into the building of the burial mound. At dawn he wailed at the grave and at night he read his books without resting. (p. 7701)

1522-1566 父病革，刲臂為湯飲父，父良已。

When his father fell seriously ill, he cut flesh from his own arm for a soup and gave it to his father to drink. His father was cured. (p. 7701)

1522-1566 夏子孝，字以忠，桐城人。六歲失母，哀哭如成人。九歲父得危疾，禱天地，刲股六寸許，調羹以進，父食之頓愈。翌日，子孝痛創，父詰其故，始知之。

Xia Zixiao, style name Yizhong, was a native of Tongcheng. At the age of six, when he lost his mother, he wailed like an adult. At the age of nine, when his father fell critically ill, he prayed to heaven and earth and cut about six inches of flesh from his thigh, mixed it into a gruel and presented it. His father ate it and recovered immediately. In the morning Zixiao was in great pain from his injury. His father asked him what the reason was and that is how it first became known. (p. 7615)

1525 唐儼，全州諸生也。父蔭，郴州知州，歸老得危疾。儼年十二，潛割臂肉進之，疾良已。及父歿，哀毀如成人。其後游學於外，嫡母寢疾。儼妻鄧氏年十八，奮曰：「吾婦人，安知湯藥。昔夫子以臂肉療吾舅，吾獨不能療吾姑哉？」於是割脅肉以進，姑疾亦愈。儼聞母疾，馳歸，則無恙久矣，拜其妻曰：「此吾分也，當急召我，何自苦如此！」妻曰：「子事父，婦事姑，一也。方危急時，召子何及。且事必待子，安用婦為。」儼益歎異。嫡母歿二十年，而生母歿，儼廬墓三年。嘉靖四年貢至京，有司奏旌其門。

Tang Yan was a student from Quanzhou. When his father, Yin, sub-prefectural magistrate of Chenzhou, fell critically ill upon retirement, Yan, who was twelve years of age, secretly cut flesh from his own arm and presented it to him. The disease then abated. When his father died he mourned and was devastated like a grown up. After this he left to study outside the district. When his father's wife became bedridden, Yan's wife Madame Deng, who was 18 years old, resolutely said: 'I am a woman. What do I know about concoctions of medicine? A long time ago my husband cut his arm to cure my father-in-law. Why should I not be able to cure my mother-in-law?' Then she cut flesh from her side and presented it to her. Her disease then abated. When Yan heard about his mother's disease, he galloped home, only to find that his mother had been well for a long time. Paying his respects to his wife, he said: 'It was my duty to do this! In urgencies you should summon me. Why did you hurt yourself like this?' His wife answered: 'Sons serve their fathers. Daughters-in-law serve their mothers-in-law. It's all the same. At the critical point, if you had been summoned, how would you have been able to make it here? Moreover, if the son is to be waited for when parents are to be served, what should wives be used for?' Yan admired her even more. Twenty years after his father's wife's death, his mother died. Yan dwelt in a shed at the side of the grave for three years. In the fourth year of the Jiaqing reign news of the event arrived in the capital. An official memorialized the throne that their door should be marked with insignia. (p. 7611)

1532 襄陵王冲皇，憲王第二子，有至性。母病，割股和藥，病良已。及卒，終喪毀瘠。每展墓，必率子孫躬舂餅培冢。先後璽書褒美者六。子範址服其教，母荆罹危疾，亦割股進之，愈。

Chongqiu, Prince of Xiangling, second son of Prince Xian, was endowed with a most natural disposition. When his mother fell ill, he cut flesh from his thigh and mixed it with medicine. The disease was thus cured. And when she died, he was devastated by grief. Every time he visited the grave he led his sons and grandson by personally adding to the burial mound with the help of a basket and a shovel. Altogether, he was praised in no less than six imperial letters. His son Fanzhi followed his teachings. When his mother Jing suffered from a serious disease he also cut flesh from his own thigh and presented it. She recovered. (p. 3606)

1573-1619 姑鼻患疽垂斃，躬為吮治，不愈，乃夜焚香告天，割左臂肉以進，姑啖之愈。遠肫稱孝婦。

When her mother-in-law suffered from a cancerous growth on her nose and was on the brink of death, she tried to cure it by sucking it. When she did not recover, she burnt incense at night, prayed to heaven and cut her left arm and presented it. Her mother-in-law ate it and recovered. Near and far, people called her 'the loyal wife'. (p. 7735)

1573-1619 李孝婦，臨武人，名中姑，適江西桂廷閣。姑鄧患痰疾，將不起，婦涕泣憂悼。聞有言乳肉可療者，心識之。一日，煮藥，熬香燭，自割一乳，昏仆於地，氣已絕。廷閣呼藥不至，出視，見血流滿地，大驚呼救，傾駭城市，邑長佐皆詣其廬，命亟治。俄有僧踵門曰：「以室中蘄艾傳之，即愈。」如其言，果甦，夫求僧不復見矣。乃取乳和藥奉姑，姑竟獲全。

Loyal Wife Li was a native of Linwu. Her given name was Zhonggu and she was married to Gui Tingfeng of Jiangxi. Her mother-in-law, Deng, suffered from asthma. When she would not rise from her bed, Zhonggu cried in distress. She had heard it said that flesh from a breast could cure disease, and in her heart she knew that it was the only thing to do. One day, when she boiled the medicine, she burned incense, prayed to the kitchen god and cut off one breast. She then fell unconscious on the floor and stopped breathing. Tingfeng shouted for the medicine and when it did not arrive he went out to see what had happened. He found the floor covered with blood. Alarmed he shouted for help, thus upsetting the whole town. The magistrate's assistants all visited his hut and ordered that something immediately be done. Suddenly a monk arrived at the door and said: 'If the mugwort in this room is given to her she will recover.' They did as he said and as a result, she was revived. Later on when the monk was sought for he was nowhere to be found. The breast mixed with the medicine was then offered to the mother-in-law. She was healed. (pp. 7734-35)

1573-1619 (p. 7735; see p. 117 of this article)

1614 金子良亦有孝行，父病，刲股為羹以進，旋愈。夫卒，廬墓哀毀。萬曆四十三年，父子並得旌。

Jin's son Liang was also very filial. When his father fell ill, he cut his thigh for a gruel which he presented. He then recovered. When his father later died he dwelt in a shed at the side of the grave, devastated by grief. In the 43rd year of the Wanli reign both father and son received insignia. (p. 7619)

1622-1644 許琰，字玉仲，吳縣人。幼有至性，嘗刲臂療父疾。

Xu Yan, style name Yuzhong, was a native of Wu county. As a child he had a very natural disposition; he once cut his own arm to cure a disease of his father's. (p. 7560)

1627 妻張氏割臂以療，絕飲食者七日。

His wife, Madame Zhang, cut her arm to cure him and stopped drinking and eating for seven days. (p. 6961)

1628-1644 夫病，氏單衣蔬食，禱天願代，割臂為糜以進。

When her husband fell ill, she wore unlined garments and ate only vegetables. She prayed to heaven, professing a will to replace her husband, cut her arm for a gruel and presented it to him. (p. 7742)

Qingshi gao 清史稿

清興關外，俗純樸，愛親敬長，內慤外嚴。既定鼎，禮教益備。定旌格，循明舊。親存，奉侍竭其力；親歿，善居喪，或廬於墓；親遠行，萬里行求，或生還，或以喪歸。友于兄弟，同居三五世以上，號義門，及諸義行，皆禮旌。親病，刲股割肝；親喪，以身朕；皆以傷生有禁，有司以事聞，輒破格報可。

When Qing rose outside the passes, its traditions were pure and upright. Relatives were loved and the elderly respected. It was innocent inwardly and stern outwardly. When the dynasty was established, the rituals were already prepared. The rules for conferment of insignia were fixed in compliance with those of the old Ming. When alive, parents should be served with uncompromising effort. When they die parents should be mourned for properly, perhaps by dwelling in a shed at their graves. When they have travelled far, distances of 10,000 *li* should not deter a search for them; sometimes to bring them back alive and sometimes to bring them back for their funeral. Kindness among brothers or several generations living under the same roof should be known as righteous families. All righteous acts should be rewarded with insignia. When parents fall ill, acts of harm to life such as thigh and liver cutting is forbidden, and when they die, suicides are forbidden. If an act has become well known among officials they are allowed to break the rules and make a report. (p. 13730)

1642 母病，刲股療之。

When his mother fell ill he cut his own thigh to cure her. (p. 13843)

1644-61 汪灝，江南休寧人。晨、日昂、日昇，其弟也。父病咯血，灝年十六，割股和藥進，良愈。後數年病足，晨割股煉為末，敷治亦愈。又數年復咯血，晨復割臂以療。更數年，疾大作，灝復割臂，勿瘳。晨病，日昂泣曰：「吾兄割臂愈父，吾不能割以愈吾兄乎？」眾尼之。憫且仆，匠治棺，日昂持匠斧斷指，血淋漓，調藥以飲晨。有司表其門曰「一門四孝友」。

Wang Hao was a native of Xiuning, Jiangnan. Chen, Riang and Risheng were his younger brothers. When their father fell ill and coughed blood, Hao, who was only 16 years old, cut flesh from his own thigh, mixed it with medicine and presented it to him. His father recovered. Several years after this when his feet were afflicted by disease, Chen cut flesh from his thigh and processed it to a powder. After applying it, his father recovered. After a few more years, he again coughed blood. To cure him, Chen cut himself again, this time on the arm. A few years later still, when his condition became very serious, Hao again cut his arm, this time to no avail. Then Chen fell ill. Riang cried and said: 'My brother has cut his arm to cure our father. Cannot I cut myself to cure my brother?' The others stopped him. Confused, he fell prostrate to the ground. When the carpenter was putting the coffin in order, Risheng grabbed his axe, chopped off a finger, mixed the dripping blood with medicine and gave to Chen to drink. The insignia an official marked their door with read: 'The house of the four filial devotees.' (p. 13733)

1644-1661 姑疾，刲肝雜糜進，疾良已。

When her mother-in-law fell ill, she cut a piece from her own liver, mixed it with gruel and presented it to her. The disease abated. (p. 14068)

1644-1661 及斂，左臂創未合，蓋承宇病時嘗割臂也。

When she was being dressed for the coffin, there was an unhealed wound on her left arm. It came from when she had cut her arm to cure a disease of Chengyu's. (p. 14177)

1658 耿精忠反，下雲銘獄，蔡憂之，嘔血殷紫，女瑛佩剗臂肉入藥，旋蘇。

Then Geng Jingzhong rebelled. Yunming was thrown in prison. Cai was worried about him and vomited blood of a dark red colour. Her daughter Yingpei cut out flesh from her own arm and mixed it with medicine. This revived her. (p. 14046)

1662-1722 康熙間，以割臂療親旌者，有翁杜、佟良，與色爾岱同時有克什布。

During the Kangxi reign, rewarded for cutting their arms to cure a relative were Weng Du, Tong Liang, and at the same time as Seerdai there was Ke Shibü. (p. 13739)

1662-1722 母病，刲臂以療。

When his mother fell ill, he cut his arm to cure her. (p. 13741)

1691 王鉅妻施，鉅，蕭山人；施，富陽人。姑嚴，小不當意，輒呵斥，施屏息不敢聲。姑病反胃甚，醫以為不治，施刲股和藥進，病良已，姑遇施如故。鉅疾作，施視疾懣，病瘳卒，姑猶不善施。鉅以刲股事告，視其尸，信，乃大慟曰：「吾負孝婦！」及疾篤，出珠花付鉅曰：「汝婦孝，以此志吾痛，使汝子孫勿忘。」蕭山人因稱鉅後為珠花王氏。

Wang Ju's wife Shi. Ju was a native of Xiaoshan. Shi was a native of Fuyang. Her mother-in-law was very stern. When the smallest of matters displeased her she shouted abuse. Shi would then hold her breath not daring to speak. When her mother-in-law was not able to hold her food during a disease and physicians said that it was incurable, Shi cut flesh from her own thigh, mixed it with medicine and presented it to her. When her disease then abated she treated Shi as before. Ju then fell ill. Shi, who was fatigued by looking after her husband's disease, then fell ill herself and died. Her mother-in-law still did not treat her with respect. When Ju told her about her thigh cutting, she looked at her corpse, believed it and, overcome with grief, said: 'I turned my back on my loyal daughter-in-law!' She then fell ill, produced a pearl blossom and handed it to Ju saying: 'Your wife was loyal indeed. Use this to show my pain and to make your sons and grandsons remember.' Because of this, the people of Xiaoshan called Ju's descendants 'the family of pearl blossom Wang.' (p. 14040. 'Pearl blossom' is a kind of head ornament)

1723 年十七，父病，醫不效，乃割左臂為糜以進，病稍間，旋歿。

When he was 17 years old his father contracted a disease. Physicians were unable to cure it, so he cut flesh from his left arm, mixed it with gruel and presented it to him. For a moment his disease abated somewhat, then he died. (pp. 13738-39)

1728 (pp. 13739-40; see p. 113-115 of this article)

1736-1795 進忠病，瘍生於脛，女刲股以療，家人皆不知，而長女虐愈甚。

When Jinzhong fell ill and sores developed on his shin bones, the girl cut her thigh to cure him. His family did not know this and the cruelties of his oldest daughter worsened. (p. 14096)

1736-1795 (p. 14171; see p. 117 of this article)

1738 興孝則有割股、廬墓以邀名者矣，興廉則有惡衣菲食、敝車羸馬以飾節者矣。

If filial devotion is revived, fame seekers will cut thighs and dwell in sheds beside graves. If prudence is revived there will be poor clothing, meager diets, rickety carriages and emaciated horses as cosmetic frugality. (p. 3151)

1774 弱歲，刲股愈母疾，讓產其弟。

At a young age, he cut his thigh to cure his mother's disease and left the work to his younger brothers. (p. 13397)

1779 陳文世妻劉，郡人。陳、劉皆農家，劉待年於陳。既婚，姑年七十二，病噎，劉割臂和藥以進。疾少間：既而復作，不食已十日，垂盡矣。劉夜屏人，殺雞誓於神，持小刀自割其胸二寸許，出肝剖半，取布束創，以肝與雞同淪湯奉姑。姑久不言，忽曰：「湯香甚！」飲之竟，病良愈，劉亦旋平。為乾隆四十四年夏六月事。知縣嘉興李集出俸為買田宅，宅北有大陂，幾三頃，因命曰孝婦陂。 Chen Wenshi's wife Liu was a native of Yun. Both Chen and Liu were of peasant families, so Liu awaited her coming of age at Chen's. When they married, her mother-in-law was 72 years old. When she fell ill and stopped eating, Liu cut flesh from her own arm, mixed it with medicine and presented it to her. Her disease abated temporarily and then returned. She had not eaten for ten days and was on the brink of death, when Liu secluded herself at night, killed a chicken, took an oath with the gods, grabbed a small knife and made an incision of about two inches in her chest, extracted her liver and cut off half of it. She then bound the wound with a piece of cloth, boiled a soup of the liver and the chicken and offered it to her mother-in-law. Her mother-in-law was silent for quite a while and then suddenly said: 'What a pleasant smelling soup!' After eating the soup, her disease was healed and Liu also recovered not long after. This happened in the sixth month of the 44th year of the Qianlong reign. Li Ji, the district magistrate of Jiaying, gave them financial support to buy farmland and a house. North of the house there was a wide slope of about three *qing*. Because of the incident it was given the name Slope of the Loyal Wife. (p. 14040)

1781 伊嵩阿為大學士永貴從子，早卒。方病時，希光割股進，終不起，許以死。 Yi Songa, who was Grand Secretary Yonggui's nephew, died early. When he was sick Xiguang cut flesh from her own thigh and presented it to him. He never got up again and she vowed to die with him. (p. 14159)

1796-1820 母遭危疾，割股合藥，私禱於神，植齒以延親壽。 When his mother met with a serious disease, he cut flesh from his own thigh, mixed it with medicine, prayed to the gods in private and had teeth removed to prolong her life. (p. 13183)

1796-1820 張茂信妻方，茂信，河津人；方儀徵人。方嘗割股愈舅疾，舅與茂信皆卒，奉姑劉。 Fang was the wife of Zhang Maoxin. Maoxin was a native of Hejin and Fang of Yizheng. Fang had earlier cut her thigh to cure an illness of her father-in-law, but now that he and Maoxin were both dead, she served Liu, her mother-in-law. (p. 14042)

1796-1820 林經妻陳，連江人，姑盲性卞，常臆婦藐己，陳斷三指自明，姑為之悔。經病，割股：經卒，以節終。 Lin Jing and his wife Chen were natives of Lianjiang. Her mother-in-law, who was blind and cranky, often believed that her daughter-in-law treated her with contempt. Chen then cut off three of her fingers to make it self-evident that she did not. Her mother-in-law was full of regret herself. When Jing fell ill she cut her thigh and after his death she remained faithful to him. (pp. 14042-43)

1796-1820 貧，舅歿，姑疾作，割股以療。 They were destitute. When her father-in-law died and her mother-in-law fell ill, she cut her thigh to cure her. (pp. 14098-99)

1796 嘗割左臂療父疾。 He had once cut his left arm to cure an illness of his father's. (p. 13515)

1806 何其仁聘妻李，路南人。嘉慶十一年，年十六，未行。其仁及其父皆病篤，李割股畀叔母使送婿家。至，則其仁及其父皆已卒，其仁母孀以奠。李欲奔喪，母尼之，遂縊。 The affianced bride of He Qiren, Li, was a native of Lu'nan. In the 11th year of the Jiaqing reign, when she was 16 years of age and had not yet left her family, both Qiren and his father fell seriously ill. Li then cut a piece of flesh from her thigh, gave it to an aunt to see to that it was sent to the home of her future husband. When it arrived Qiren and his father had already died, so Qiren's mother cooked it and used it as a funeral offering. Li wanted to set off for the funeral immediately but her mother stopped her. She then hanged herself. (p. 14097)

1806 王前洛聘妻林，潛山人。前洛病，林父餽藥，林潛割股入藥。前洛卒，固請奔喪，引刀誓不嫁。 The affianced bride of Wang Qianluo, Lin, was a native of Qianshan. When Qianluo fell ill and Lin's father provided medicine for him, Lin secretly cut flesh from her own thigh and put it among the other

ingredients. When Qianluo died, Lin insisted on going to the funeral, pulled a knife and swore that she never would marry. (p. 14097)

1815 嘗酒酣袒身示人，戰創斑斑，為父母割股痕凡七，其忠孝蓋出天性云。

When alcohol made him merry he bared his body and showed people his many battle scars as well as the seven in total scars he had from cutting his thigh for his father and mother. His loyalty and filial devotion was derived from his natural disposition. (p. 11205)

1821-1850 (p. 13745. See p. 116-117 of this article. Note that *Xu* 紱 should have *xue* 學 to the left (instead of 余) and be pronounced *jiao*.)

1821-1850 後數年，父病，希向為割股，良愈。希向年六十，病噎，其子亦割股，刀鈍，肉不決，剪之，乃下，然希向竟不瘳。

Several years after this, when his father fell ill, Xixiang cut his own thigh. His father then recovered. When Xixiang was 60 years old and had difficulties breathing, his son also cut his own thigh. However, the knife was blunt and the piece of flesh could not be cut off. Only after using scissors did it come off. But Xixiang still was not cured. (p. 13769)

1821-1850 九歲割臂療父疾。

At the age of nine she cut her arm to cure a disease of her father's. (p. 14057)

1821-1850 割股以進姑，病良已。

She cut flesh from her own thigh and presented it to her mother-in-law. Her disease abated. (p. 14102)

1828 潘德興，字四農，山陽人。年五六歲，母病不食，亦不食。父咯血，割臂肉和藥進，父墓其色動，泣曰：「固知兒有是也！」

Pan Deyu, styled Sinong, was a native of Shanyang. When he was five or six years of age and his mother could not eat because of a disease, he did not eat either. When his father coughed blood, he cut flesh from his own arm, mixed it with medicine and presented it. On discovering what had happened, his father was moved to tears and said: 'I always knew my son had it in him!' (p. 13424)

1836 王如義妻向，涪州人。幼能為詩文。如義，農家子，向恆勸之讀。道光十六年，如義暴卒，姑喻之嫁，矢以死。舅病，為割股。家益貧，將強遣之，二十三年三月戊申，自沉荷花灘死。

Wang Ruyi and his wife Xiang were natives of Fuzhou. As a child she could write literary compositions. Ruyi, who was a farmer's son, was often encouraged by Xiang to study. In the 16th year of the Daoguang reign, Ruyi suddenly died. Her mother-in-law told her to remarry but she swore that till death she would not do this. When her father-in-law fell ill she cut her thigh. When the family became poorer they drove her away. On the *wushen* day of the third month in the 23rd year, she drowned herself at Kehuatan. (p. 14162)

1838 先是源兌妻易氏以源兌遺疾幾殆，籲天願以身代，割臂和藥飲源兌，源兌以愈，易氏旋病卒。

Before this Yuanyan's wife Madame Yi had once, because Yuanyan had met with disease and was about to expire, invoked the gods, proclaiming a wish to replace his body with her's, cut flesh from her own arm, mixed it with medicine and given it to him to drink. Yuanyan was thus cured but Madame Yi died not long thereafter. (p. 13553)

1851-61 蕭學華妻賀，湖南安化人。賀父徙陝西，學華養其家。年餘，學華歸省母，賀欲與俱，父不許，賀割股肉付夫以奉姑。姑適病，學華烹肉進，病良已。後學華攜賀歸，事姑以孝稱。

Xiao Xuehua and his wife He were natives of Anhua in Hunan. When He's father travelled to Shaanxi, Xuehua came to live in their house. After more than a year Xuehua was returning home to look after his mother. He wanted to go with him but her father would not allow it. She then cut flesh from her own thigh for her husband to take to her mother-in-law. The mother-in-law then happened to fall ill. Xuehua boiled the flesh and presented it to her. Her disease abated. Afterwards Xuehua took He home. Serving her mother-in-law she earned a name for her filial devotion. (p. 14044)

1862-1874 安于磐妻朱，後妻田，于磐，貴州蠻夷司長官。初娶朱，事姑孝，姑病，割股，卒。復娶田，于磐病，割股。于磐卒，撫諸子成立。

An Yupan was married to Zhu and later to Tian. Yupan was the chief of the Manyi office in Guizhou. He first married Zhu, who served her mother-in-law loyally. When her mother-in-law fell ill she cut her thigh, but died [herself]. He then married Tian, who when Yupan fell ill, cut her thigh. When Yupan died, she successfully reared all the children. (p. 14199)

1862-74 田養民妻楊，養民，朗溪司長官；楊，邑梅司人也。年十二，母病，割股。
Tian Yangmin's wife Yang. Yangmin was the chief of the Langxi office. Yang came from the Yimei office. At the age of twelve when her mother fell ill, she cut her thigh. (p. 14199)

1862 子日崐妻李，嘗割股愈母病，事祖姑及姑孝。姑病，割臂進，病目，舐以舌，良已。
Li, wife of their son Rikun, who had once cut her thigh to cure her mother's disease, served her grandmother-in-law and her mother-in-law with great devotion. When her mother-in-law fell ill, she cut flesh from her own arm and presented it to her. When she contracted an eye disease, Li licked her eyes with her tongue. This cured her. (p. 14045)

1875-1908 父病噎，亦植飲食，百方療父，不得，則割肱糜以進，終不愈。
When his father stopped eating because of a disease, he also ate less. After having tried a hundred prescriptions to no avail, he cut his arm for a gruel and presented it to him. His father died, however, without recovering. (p. 13747)

1875-1908 疾篤，割肱進，卒不治。
When his father's condition became critical, he cut flesh from his own arm and presented it to him. He died, however, without recovering. (p. 13748)

1875-1908 張三愛，江南歙縣人。為人役。事母孝，母病，不能具藥物。或謂之曰：「汝欲愈母病，盍割肝？」三愛禱於叢祠，破腹，肝墮出，以右手割肝，得指許，左手納於腹，束以白麻。歸以肝和羹飲母，母良愈，三愛創亦合。
Zhang San'ai was a native of Xi county in Jiangnan and worked as a servant. He served his mother with great filial devotion. When she fell ill and he could not procure the medicine needed, someone said to him: 'You want to cure your mother's disease, right? Why don't you cut your liver?' San'ai went to a deserted temple to pray. There he slit his belly so that his liver protruded. With his right hand he cut off a piece about the length of a finger and with his left hand he stitched his stomach up. White hemp was used to bind the wound. He returned home, mixed the liver with gruel and gave it to his mother to drink. She was cured. San'ai's scar also healed. (p. 13749)

1875-1908 事親孝，父病，割臂和藥進。
She served her parents with devotion. When her father fell ill, she cut flesh from her own arm, mixed it with medicine and presented it to him. (p. 14081)

1896 縣有嫠張陳氏，家貧，割肉以奉姑，訓予田十畝助其養。
In his district there was a widow called Madame Zhang Chen. Her family was very poor, so she cut her own flesh and offered it to her mother-in-law. Xun gave her ten *mou* of farmland to help her support them. (p. 13813)

1904 鍾琦適危疾，嘗割股和藥以進。
When Zhongqi met with a serious disease, he [Guang Xi] cut flesh from his own thigh, mixed it with medicine and presented it to him. (p. 12790)

1908 早寡，事姑謹，嘗割肱療姑疾。
Widowed early in her marriage, she served her mother-in-law attentively. She once cut her arm to cure a disease of hers. (p. 14082)

1910 沈瀛，字士登，江蘇吳縣人。嘗割臂療母疾。
Shen Ying, style name Shideng, was a native of Wu county in Jiangsu. He had once cut his arm to cure a disease of his mother's. (p. 13708)

Conclusions

There are between five and six hundred references to cannibalism in the *Histories*; 370 of these are cases of starvation-related cannibalism. Of these, 340 can be connected to 170 specific events, the rest being general discussions or prophesies. The result is that each event is mentioned twice on average. In the vengeance-related group there are around 80 references to 60 separate events. In the group related to filial piety there are 110 accounts of almost as many events.

All types of accounts can be found right up until the 19th and 20th century. The points in history when the different groups first occur vary from the second century B.C. to the 7th century A.D.

Geographically they have a similar spread over an area which can be likened to a triangle. The northern leg can be drawn from Beijing to Chengdu for all three groups. The southern leg can be drawn from Shanghai to Chengdu for the first two groups but has to be moved southwards to the southern part of Fujian to include most of the filial piety-related accounts.

This pattern, easy to detect, is highly interesting. Whereas Westerners and other cultures find cannibals on the fringes of their civilization, the Chinese find them in Han dominated areas within the empire. This means that descriptions of ethnic 'others' as cannibals is not a feature of Chinese historiography. As seen in part 2d, accounts reminiscent of those of European explorers, anthropologists and colonizers constitute only around 1% of all references. This might not be that sensational to anthropologists who may believe that otherness does not have to be ethnically based but can be based on gender, class, religion or politics.²⁰⁶ But on the other hand, this means that an anthropologist, as long as the historian is not a self-admitted cannibal himself, will be able to find the otherness wherever cannibalism is encountered and then assume that cannibalism is falsely ascribed to the 'other' in order to demonize him. But this logic only works when it is taken for granted that cannibalism does not exist. When accusations of atrocities occur and turn out false, the above theory is a very good way of explaining the accusations. Nevertheless, it is useless in proving the accusation to be true or false. Contrary to the findings of Arens's, the dimension of otherness is weak or non-existent in Chinese accounts. More importantly, demonizing depictions of others as cannibals are seldom found simply because acts of cannibalism more often than not made heroes and not demons out of a person or a people. Only some of the accounts in 2b and the handful in 2d are of a deroga-

²⁰⁶ Ing-Britt Trankell and Jan Ovesen, p. 3.

tory nature. In 2a people who resort to cannibalism are seen as lamentable, in 2b generally as heroic and in 2c as paragons of filial piety (the provider of flesh is the paragon, the eater is just lucky to have raised him or her). Luo Wuheng, who studied cannibalism in Chinese and Japanese fiction, suggests that there is a conflict between physiological and moral criteria in starvation cannibalism but that the two supplement and reinforce each other in ritual or medical cannibalism. Discussing the fictional accounts he argues that 'there is no such a thing as immutable morality regarding man-eating.'²⁰⁷ It is actually this favorable, encouraging view of cannibalism which made Lu Xun 魯迅 attack his own society for serving up 'banquets of human flesh' (*renroude yanyan* 人肉的筵宴) and Wu Yu 吳虞 write a commentary on Lu Xun's *Diary of a Madman* (*Kuangren riji* 狂人日記) entitled *Man-eating and Propriety* (*Chi ren yu lijiao* 吃人與禮教) in which he expressed intense indignation about how well man-eating is regarded in the history books.²⁰⁸

How often these accounts reflect actual events is impossible to say. Researchers vary from believing all to discarding them all. Before I attempt to answer the question I stress that I am of the belief that all reconstructions of history are, to varying extents, doomed to be provisional, incomplete and sometimes false. History cannot be relived. Thus all conclusions drawn in this study may be questioned. Having said this, I believe that a statement found in a history book should be taken as a truthful depiction of reality until it is gainsaid by other information made available. In the case of cannibalism, that I find it likely to have happened means that I have no evidence to the contrary.

In part 1 cannibalism as found in the texts by other scholars showed itself to be based on misinterpretations. The most common mistake was to confuse the physical desecration of a corpse described with in food-processing terms with its being eaten. Very few cases remained after the investigation and I found that the amount of attention devoted to cannibalism during this period was not proportionate to the amount of cases found.

The cases in 2a involved reports on astronomical phenomena, oddities and disasters. The proven accuracy of astronomical observations increased my trust in the reports on cannibalism. While this does not rule out the possibility that they, like astronomical observations, could sometimes have been made up, I do not believe that the expressions were metaphors. I find no reason to rule them out *en masse* as fictitious.

The cases in 2b were the least homogenous. Cannibalism is an act of violence in this group and is sometimes considered rightfully applied glorifying someone, or wrongfully applied vilifying someone. The truth in them is very difficult to comment on. Perhaps it is sufficient to say that suspicion is warranted because of their political nature. One should remember that while it is unequivocal that war breeds excessive cruelty, the incentive to portray the enemy as cruel and oneself as heroic is strong.

The accounts in 2c are far more homogenous. The main character is not the one

²⁰⁷ Luo Wuheng, *Man-eating, Fiction, and Culture: of Chinese and Japanese Corporeality*, pp. 70, 138.

²⁰⁸ Lu Xun 魯迅, 'Some notions jotted down by lamp-light,' Wu Yu 吳虞, 'Man-eating and propriety'.

eating the flesh but the one providing it. This is the group that fits Arens's pattern most uncomfortably. There is no 'ethnic other' at work. Cannibalism is 'good', or at least the act enabling it is good. The eating of the flesh is not judged morally. While this act also makes heroes or heroines out of people the many discussions on efforts to curb or promote it enhance their reliability. I find no reason to rule these accounts out *en masse* as fiction or legends.

The accounts in 2d resemble those in Arens's study the most, especially those which I have listed under 'Ethnography'. The other sub-group labelled 'Rumours' differs from the former in that these cases are about events taking place within the empire and in that they are regarded with scepticism even at the time of recording. This is reason enough to doubt whether they are accurate.

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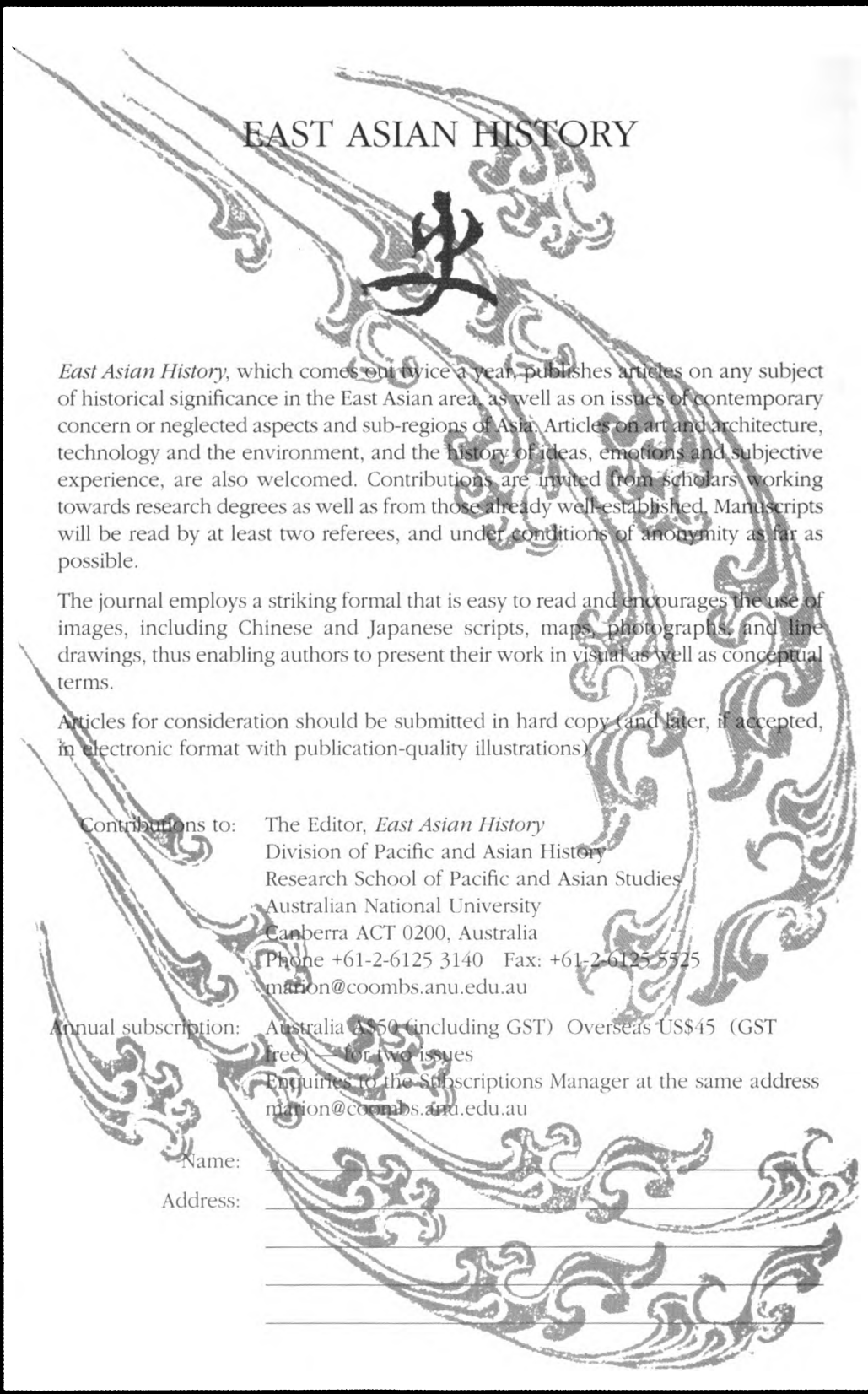
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Stockholm, June 2001

Bengt Pettersson



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The *Bulletin* invites manuscripts from scholars worldwide, on all aspects of ancient and classical East Asia and adjacent regions, including archaeology, art, and architecture; history and philosophy; literature and linguistics; and related fields and regions. Contributions seriously engaging contemporary critical thought in the humanities and social sciences are particularly welcome.

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